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Isabel of Castile, Flemish Aesthetics, and Identity Construction in the Works of Juan de Flandes

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Isabel of Castile, Flemish Aesthetics, and Identity Construction in the Works of Juan de Flandes

by

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Isabel of Castile, Flemish Aesthetics, and Identity Construction in the Works of Juan de Flandes

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This dissertation explores how Isabel of Castile employed Flemish visual forms in the cultivation of both royal and personal identity through an analysis of the paintings created by the Flemish artist Juan de Flandes (active 1496-1519) during his career in Spain. Isabel's importation of a Northern European court artist to work within a Castilian milieu popularized a hybridized Hispano-Flemish visual style that concurrently facilitated the combined impressions of international sophistication and localized Iberian identity.

During his career at the Castilian court, Juan de Flandes created paintings that oscillated between the visual styles, compositional devices, and iconographies of his Flemish training and those of his adopted artistic environment. One is unable to organize his oeuvre into a teleological narrative, where early works conform to Netherlandish standards which then organically

incorporate an increasing number of local Spanish idioms resulting in "late" pieces that more fully display Iberian aesthetics. This problematizes the interpretation of formal qualities in sixteenth-century painting as passive indicators of regional schools, individual artistic hands, and broad cultural phenomena.

By interpreting the paintings of Juan de Flandes within the context of Isabel's self-fashioning as queen of Castile, I argue that aesthetics can also be understood as a facet of production that can be negotiated during the commission process and can communicate socio-political ideologies. Therefore, Isabel's aesthetics as expressed in the works of Juan de Flandes what might be termed a proto-nationalistic awareness of a specifically "Castilian" visual identity, the manipulation of which coincides with her broader aims as ruler.

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Introduction

The reception of Flemish painting in Spain has traditionally been studied as a passive phenomenon, most often presented as the natural development of the influence of the French Gothic aesthetic during the late middle ages.[1] Interest has been in the ways in which Iberian painters included Northern European aesthetics in their locally produced objects through the attempted replication of the colors, textures, and figure-types from Netherlandish paintings and compositions popularized by German printmakers. Appropriation, however, is never a passive act. In discussion the artistic appropriation of medieval Spain, Jerrilynn Dodds notes that ". . . 'influence' implies that a group which is creating new art, and searching for models outside its own tradition, receives artistic stimulus passively. Of course, the opposite is true. Looking outside one's own tradition, one's artistic circle, is a highly creative and courageous act."[2] What has yet to be addressed in the scholarship on paintings in the Flemish style in fifteenth century Iberia is why

[1] For example, see P. Silva Maroto, *El arte hispanoflamenco* (Madrid: La Muralla, 1993); F. Fernández Pardo, "El camino de Santiago y su importancia socioartística," in *Las tablas flamencas en la Ruta Jacobea*, ed. F. Fernández Pardo, (San Sebastián: Diócesis de Calahorra y La Calzada-Logoño, 1999), 74-82; M. Belozerskaya, *Rethinking the Renaissance : Burgundian Arts Across Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 160-179; P. Silva Maroto, "Fernando Gallego andt the Altarpiece of Ciudad Rodrigo," in *Fernando Gallego and his Workshop*, ed. A. W. Dotseth, B. C. Anderson, and M. A. Roglán, (London: Phillip Wilson Publishers, 2008), 43.
[2] J. D. Dodds, "Islam, Christianity, and the Problem of Religious Art," in *Late Antique and Medieval Art of the Mediterranean World*, ed. E. R. Hoffman, (Malden: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2007), 351.

this style was even popular in Castile in the first place, and what mental constructs might have impacted its appreciation. What relationship existed between foreign-looking objects and the foreign locals these objects reference? Does the visual style of an object affect its use? And how did the desire for exotic objects associated with a specific place beyond the borders of the kingdom coincide with the construction of what might be described as the Spanish monarch's proto-nationalistic identity?

In order to extend the current discourse, this dissertation will analyze the relationship between a single patron and a single artist. Queen Isabel of Castile has long been recognized as an artistic trendsetter; her desire for Netherlandish objects set the tenor for consumption across her kingdom. Central to her patronage was her Flemish court painter Juan de Flandes. The paintings produced by Juan for the queen not only responded to her personal preferences but also assisted in the construction of a multivalent identity. By using a foreign visual style Isabel forged a link between herself and the other rulers who also publicaly patronized Northern European aesthetics, a connection made explicit by her singular focus amid a plethora of competing regional styles then available to Castilian patrons. The preference for the Flemish visual style as utilized by Juan de Flandes was an essential component of the queen's

patronage that communicated Isabel's position as the sole legitimate ruler of Castile who would sanctify the body politic. The reinterpretation of the panels by Juan de Flandes as articulating the queen's broader policy positions and self-presentation reveals the power of visual style to denote meaning in an era of stylistic plurality.

Chapter 1 sets the stage by outlining the career of Juan de Flandes and his reception in the scholarly literature to date. It provides both documentary evidence for his Castilian projects and examples of works attributed to his hand by means of connoisseurship. The painter's working conditions and association with Isabel's other court painters are also addressed. The subsequent four chapters each focus on a specific project completed by Juan de Flandes for Isabel, interpreting the imagery as congruent with an essential aspect of the queen's public policy.

Chapter 2 focuses on Juan's copy of Rogier van der Weyden's *Miraflores Altarpiece*, an object brought to Castile by Isabel's father, Juan II. By commissioning a replica of her predecessor's devotional image from his funerary complex near Burgos, the queen established an overt connection between her own reign and the Trastámara dynasty. The object visually legitimized her initially tenuous position as head of the Castilian state. As such,

the project coincided with Isabel's self-presentation as a collateral heir preferable to her older brother Enrique IV due to her traditional Castilian values.

A second object associated with the Carthusian monastery of Miraflores, the *Retablo de San Juan Bautista,* is the centerpiece of chapter 3. The virtuosic display of Netherlandish style allows this object to serve as a representative example of the queen's aesthetic desires, also expressed through her collecting habits. Because Flemish-styled art objects denoted their geographic origins in the Burgundian Netherlands, Isabel's accumulation of Flemish paintings and tapestries reveals her awareness of international artistic trends. The use of visual culture in courtly display, also heavily influenced by Burgundian customs, communicated her magnificence to international diplomats resulting in Castile's transcendent position in European politics. However, the sumptuousness of this exotic foreign material culture also carried an implicit threat to local austere sensibilities.

The lavishness of Flemish luxury goods is further mediated in chapter 4 through a discussion of devotional models imported from Northern Europe alongside the visual style. In order to facilitate a devout populace, Isabel sponsored Castilian translations of "classic" texts from the *devotio moderna*,

which had previously had little impact on Castilian religious practices. These texts emphasized the creation of a personal connection between the devotee and Christ through sustained focus on the events of the Passion. The exercises encouraged utilization of private devotional images personalized to one's unique needs and experiences so as to better enable a mystical union with Christ. This phenomenon is exemplified by the surviving panels of the *Retablo de Isabel* by Juan de Flandes and Michel Sittow. The preference for Flemish-styled painting in devotional images suggests not only the ability for highly realistic Passion imagery to facilitate an emotional response, but a heightened devotional capacity because of the shared geographic origins for both texts and images.

Chapter 5 continues to interpret the panels of the *Retablo de Isabel*, though shifting the focus from personal to collective religiosity. I argue that the surviving panels were intended to be installed as a high altarpiece that conformed to the Castilian *retablo mayor* tradition. Because *retablos mayors* expressed communal identity, the *Retablo de Isabel* merged Isabel's personal devotional needs with those of the kingdom. The depiction of Jewish and Muslim minorities in the narrative imagery communicates the desire for a religiously homogenous Iberia, Christianized through conversion and crusade.

The emphasis upon the Virgin in the program coincided with Isabel's messianic self-fashioning as chosen by God to facilitate the incarnation of a unified and sanctified Spain. The communication of this specifically Castilian message through the visual language of Flemish aesthetics entwines the triumph of the *reconquista* with Isabel's personal power and prestige.

The success of Isabel's use of Flemish visual culture to privilege the various priorities of her reign is tested in the conclusion, which traces Juan de Flandes' Castilian career after the queen's death. His ability to compete against local painters to receive prominent commissions from the Isabelline courtiers reveals the continued impact of Isabel upon both the tastes and prerogatives of the kingdom. The public visibility of these later commissions, located on prominent altars in Castile, allowed Juan de Flandes to influence the local painting tradition directly by providing additional inspiration for the Hispano-Flemish painters. Moreover, the purchasing of many panels from the *Retablo de Isabel* by Margaret of Austria and the subsequent possession of the objects by Isabella of Portugal and Philip II when considered alongside continued patronage trends, implicates Isabel's role in establishing a dynasty specific aesthetic identity.

Chapter 1: History and Historiography

An assessment of the life of Juan de Flandes, like many artists working during the transition from the fifteenth to the sixteenth centuries, is problematic because of imperfect documentary evidence and references to no longer extant works. Nothing can be said with certainty regarding such fundamental aspects as the artist's apprenticeship or early guild associations or his family history. No personal writings survive to illuminate the reasons for his migration to Spain or his reaction to the strangeness of his adoptive country. His works have been dispersed into museums and private collections across Europe and North America, necessitating reconstruction of his oeuvre by means of stylistic and technical analysis. The lack of definitive evidence has led art historians on a merry goose chase with many twists and turns through archives and side chapels. However, an assortment of documents concerning Juan de Flandes' employment in Spain has survived and a handful of works remain *in situ*. Though his early life remains a mystery, it is possible to chart with a reasonable degree of precision the trajectory of his career in Castile (Appendix A). The Flemish painter is well represented in the scholarly literature on Isabelline Spain, with many of his works included in large exhibitions dedicated to

fifteenth-century Iberian art.[3] As much of this scholarship is focused on issues of connoisseurship or interpreting individual panels, however, a more complete assessment of Juan's complex relationship to his patron remains elusive.

The Life of Juan de Flandes

On July 12, 1496, the accounts of the royal treasurer Gonzalo de Baeza record the payment of six thousand *maravedíes* to on "Juan de Flandes, pintor."[4] The reference constitutes the earliest documentary evidence of the painter, and the allotment may have been intended to cover his initial travel expenses.[5] This payment appears to mark the arrival of Juan de Flandes in Castile and therefore

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[3] *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 162-165; A. Ballesteros Gallardo and L. Suárez Fernández, eds., *Ysabel, la reina católica : una mirada desde la catedral primada del 15 de junio al 26 de noviembre de 2005* (Toledo: Grafos, 2005), 551-555; F. Checa Cremades, ed. *Reyes y mecenas: Los reyes católicos, Maximilliano I y los indicios de la Austria en España* (Spain: Electa España, 1992), 391-395; F. Fernández Pardo, ed. *Las tablas flamencas en la Ruta Jacobea* (San Sebastián: Diócesis de Calahorra y la Calzada-Logroño, 1999), 226-227.

[4] Archivo General de Simancas, Contaduria Mayor, 1st epoca, leg. 15, fol. 199.2v. Published by A. d. l. Torre y del Cerro, *Cuentas de Gonzalo de Baeza, tesorero de Isabel la Católica, 1492-1502*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1956), 1: 320. The Castilian currency of *maravedíes* introduced into Castile during the twelfth century. The economic confusion under Enrique IV led Fernando and Isabel to reform the monetary system through the Ordinance of Medina del Campo on June 2, 1497. The Catholic monarchs stated that the official unit of account was the *real* with the *maravedí* relationally defined. Thirty-four *maravedíes* equaled the standard coinage of the *real,* which weighed 3.434 g of silver. Fernando and Isabel also introduced the gold *excelente,* also called the *ducado*, equivalent to the Venetian ducat and valued at 375 *maravedíes*. W. A. Shaw, *The History of Currency 1251-1884: Being an Account of the Gold and Silver Moneys and Monetary Standards of Europe and America, Together with an Examination of the Effects of Currency and Exchange Phenomenon on Commercial and National Progress and Well Being* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1896; repr., August M. Kelley, 1967), 319-344.

[5] This is the interpretation presented by Pilar Silva Maroto. P. Silva Maroto, *Juan de Flandes* (Madrid: Caja Duero, 2006), 35.

serves as a point of division between the early experiences of the painter and his Spanish career.

The first mystery created by the early documentary evidence is the location of the artist's emigration. Although the name "Juan de Flandes" might seem to be an obvious marker of Flemish origination, Iberians did not always utilize geographically accurate nomenclature when describing foreigners.[6] Instead, the identification of "Flandes" and "Aleman" were used to indicate a foreigner from the North. For example, the Toledo sculptor Rodrigo Alemán was described by Hieronymous Münzer as a fellow German.[7] However, when Rodrigo Alemán's son testified before the Inquisition in 1524 he claimed that his father was Flemish.[8] Michael Sittow is referred to as "Michel Flamenco," "Michel Alemán," and "Miguel Situ" interchangeably throughout his sojourn in Castile.[9] These examples indicate that the use of the appellation "Flandes" for Juan does not implicitly denote a specific regional heritage, but a more general

[6]J. Brown, *Painting in Spain 1500-1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 7-8.
[7] H. Münzer, *Jerónimo Múnzer. Viaje por España y Portugal en los años 1494 y 1495*, vol. 84, *Boletín Academia de la Historia* (Madrid: Tip. de la "Rev. de Arch., Bibl. y Museos", 1924), 248.
[8] P. Silva Maroto, "Isabel la Católica y el arte: gusto y devocion," in *Catálogo de la exposición Isabel, la reina católica. Una mirada desde la catedral primado*, ed. A. Ballesteros, (Toledo: Grafos, 2005), 433.
[9] J. Trizna, *Michel Sittow, peintre revalois de l'école brugeoise (1468-1525/1526)* (Brussels: Centre national de recherches "Primitifs flamands", 1976), 65-69; M. Weniger, *Sittow, Morros, Juan de Flandes: Drei Maler aus dem Norden am Hof Isabellas der Katholischen* (Kiel: Verlag Ludwig, 2011), 15.

foreignness from somewhere north of France.[10] The assumption of a Netherlandish origin, however, is supported by the earliest work he created in Spain, the *Retablo de San Juan Bautista* (fig. 1), which reveals a markedly Flemish visual style. The combination of visual evidence with the consistent name "Juan de Flandes" has allowed the painter to be identified with a Flemish origin or training. Attempts have been made to connect Juan de Flandes with a documented painter in the Low Countries; the quest has not been successful.[11]

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[10] Unlike Michael Sittow and Rodrigo Alemán, Juan is consistently refered to as Juan de Flandes or Juan Flamenco. The lack of references to a German heritage suggests Juan saw value in continuing to affirm and promot a specifically Flemish heritage. The name Juan Flamenco appears in the documentation of the Carthusian chapterhouse of Miraflores. For some time, Juan de Flandes and Juan Flamenco were understood as distinct artistic personalities. However, Ponz argued that the two should be assimilated, a view that has been subsequently upheld. A. Ponz, *Viaje de España* (Madrid: M. Aguilar, 1947), Xii, carta III, 9. See also J. De Coo and N. Reynaud, "Origen del retablo de San Juan Bautista atribuido a Juan de Flandes," *Archivo español de arte* 52 (1979): 125-144.

[11] The reason for this has been two fold. Firstly, Flemish males were frequently named Jan, and secondly, art historians have been unable to recognize a singular Flemish city-style in the paintings in his oeuvre. Compositions by Juan de Flandes resemble those of both Bruges and Ghent masters including Hans Memling, Hugo van der Goes, and the Master of Mary of Burgundy. Based on stylistic similarities, art historians have attempted to associate Juan de Flandes with one or the other of these schools. For a discussion of Juan de Flandes'sss possible originas in Ghent see F. Winkler, *Die altniederländische Malerei: Die Malerei in Belgien und Holland von 1400-1600* (Berlin: Propyläen-Verlag, 1924), 185; F. Winkler, *Flámische Buchmalerei des XV. und XVI. Die Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: E.A. Seemann, 1925), 279; I. Vandevivère, *La cathédrale de Palencia et l'église paroissiale de Cervera de Pisuerga* (Brussels: Ministère de l'Education national et de la Culture, 1967), 55-56. For Bruges, see M. Weniger, "Bynnen Brugge in Flandern: The Apprenticeships of Michel Sittow and Juan de Flandes," in *Memling Studies: Proceedings of the International Colloquium (Bruges, 10-12 November, 1994)*, ed. H. Verougstraete. et al., (Leuven: Peeters, 1997), 115-131; Weniger, *Sittow, Morros, Juan de Flandes*, 19. The geography and cultural continuity of the Low Countries allows for the possibility that Juan de Flandes was influenced by these painters even while living in Brussels, Tournai, or any number of towns. If one assumes that Juan de Flandes was a mature painter twenty-five or thirty years of age when he arrived in 1496, then documentation for Juan de Flandes in the Low Countries should identify birth around 1469, and training in the guild during the 1480s and 1490s,before his

The impetus for Juan's immigration to Castile is also unclear from Gonzalo de Baeza's account books. The appearance of Italianate elements in the *Crowning of Thorns* (fig. 2) and *Christ in the House of Simon* (fig. 3) led Elisa Bermejo to hypothesize that Juan de Flandes worked in Italy in advance of his arrival in Spain.[12] Travels to the city of Urbino could have facilitated his eventual immigration to Castile, as both the Netherlandish painter Justus van Ghent and the Spanish painter Pedro Berrugete were active in the city around 1480. As Juan de Flandes continued to work alongside Berrugete after his arrival in Castile, the Spanish painter could have potentially facilitated the Flemish painter's immigration. Another explanation for Juan de Flandes' arrived at the Castilian court with the ambassador of Emperor Maximilian I.

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disappearance to Castile in 1496. Five painters registered in the guild of St. Luke of Ghent in the second half of the fifteenth century conform to this model: Jan van Hecke (November 23/28, 1467), Jan van der Male (March 5, 1475), Jan Sallaert (April 25, 1480), Jan Crop (March 16, 1490), and Jan de Smet (February 19, 1493). R. van Elslande, "Juan de Flandes met nam Jan ven der Straten," *Brugs Ommeland* (1986): 111-120. J. Dhont and P. de Kayser equate Juan de Flandes with Jan Sallaert but without providing any articulation for this specific identification; J. Dhont and P. d. Keyser, *Steden en landschappen* (Antwerp: Sikkel, 1942), 278. The inclusion of inscriptions on the backs of two panels from the *Retablo de Isabel* in the National Gallery, London, of "Juan Astrat" and "Jy* Astrat" have led to the assertion that Juan de Flandes'sss surname was "de la Rue" or "van der Straten," and to identify him as Jean de la Rue, a miniaturist active in Tournai in 1463, or as Jan van der Strate, an artist involved in the decoration of the Triumphal Entry of Charles V into Bruges in April of 1515. N. MacLaren, *The Spanish School (National Gallery Catalogues)* (London: National Gallery, 1952), 22, 25. This identification is problematic due to Juan de Flandes'ssss documented activity in Spain from 1496 until his death. Lorne Campbell suggests that a visit to Flanders is possible due to the hiatus in 1515 and 1516 of payments for the *retablo mayor* for the cathedral of Palencia. L. Campbell, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Fifteenth Century Netherlandish Schools* (London: National Gallery Publications, 1998), 260.

[12] E. Bermejo, *Juan de Flandes* (Madrid: Instituto Diego Velázquez, del Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1962), 74.

The initial payment to Juan de Flandes positions the Flemish painter in the small city of Almazán on July 12, 1496, where Isabel and Fernando were establishing a court for Prince Juan. Maximilian's ambassadorial entourage was received by the crown on that same day.[13] The potential connection to the emperor's court is suggested visually by the compositional similarities between images produced by Juan de Flandes for the queen of Castile and miniatures from the books of hours of persons closely associated with Maximilian. The *Ecce Homo* (fig. 4) mirrors the *Book of Hours* of Engelbert of Nassau (fig. 5), an influential Flemish courtier and ally of Maximilian, while the strongly foreshortend *Christ Nailed to the Cross* (fig. 6) is comparable to a composition in the Hours of Mary of Burgundy (fig. 7).[14]

Although the details of his early career remain murky, Isabel quickly became impressed with Juan de Flandes' artistic capabilities. On October 27, 1496, he was given an annual pension of twenty thousand *maravedíes* to retain

[13] R. Domínguez Casas, *Arte y etiqueta de los Reyes Católicos: Artistas, residencias, jardines y bosques* (Madrid: Alpuerto, 1993), 123.
[14] G. J. Lieftrinck, *Boekverluchters uit de omgeving van Maria van Burgondië* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1969), 59; O. Kotkova, "The Prague Ecce Homo: an Early Work by Juan de Flandes?," in *Le dessin sous-jacent et technologie de la peintures. Colloque XI (14-16 septembre 1995)*, ed. R. Van Schoute and H. Verougstraete, (Louvain la Neuve: Collège Érasme, 1997), 185-192; T. Kren and S. McKendrick, eds., *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003), no. 18.

his services as her court painter (Appendix B).[15] He joined Michel Sittow who had been in the queen's employment since 1492.[16] In March of 1498, Isabel increased his pension by ten thousand *maravedíes* along with several additional lump sum payments "for certain works that he made for her highness."[17] These paintings may have included portraits (fig. 8), devotional images, (fig. 2), and site specific patronage projects including the Carthusian charterhouse in Miraflores outside of Burgos (fig. 1). It is likely that Juan de Flandes began working at Miraflores during this time. Shortly thereafter, the Catholic

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[15] This was followed by a directive signed two months later by Isabel herself for the payment of fifteen thousand *maravedíes* for court clothing . Archivo General de Simancas, Contaduria Mayor, 1st epoca, leg. 15, fol. 204v. Published by Torre y del Cerro, *Cuentas de Gonzalo de Baeza*, 329.

[16] For an introduction to Michael Sittow, his training, and his career, see Trizna, *Michel Sittow*; Weniger, *Sittow, Morros, Juan de Flandes*, 39-164. Sittow, born in Tallinn in 1469 to a local painter, apprenticed in Bruges before appearing at the court of Isabel. Upon her death, he continued practicing as a court artist for Philip the Handsome, Henry VII of England, Christian II of Denmark, and Margaret of Austria. A portrait of the Danish king Christian II was identified as by Sittow in 1854. The painter was connected to Margaret of Austria in 1895. F. Beckett, *Renaissancen og Kunstens Historie i Danmark* (Kopenhagen: Frimodt, 1897), 12-15. For essential bibliography see Trizna, *Michel Sittow*; E. Köks, "Michel Sittow: A Painter from Tallinn," *Journal of Baltic Studies* 9 (1978): 32-49; Weniger, *Sittow, Morros, Juan de Flandes*, 39-164.

[17] "Por ciertas obras que fizo para su alteza"; Archivo General de Simancas, Contaduria Mayor, 1a epoca, leg. 42, fol 104. Published by J. M. d. Azcárate, *Datos histórico-artisticos de fines del siglo XV y principios del siglo XVI*, *Documentos para la Histora del Arte en España* (Zaragoza: Caja de Ahorros de Zaragoza, 1982), 96. Over the course of his employment, Juan de Flandes received a total of 359,368 *maravedíes* as well as compensation in the form of living expenses and costly materials necessary for his paintings. The initial pension granted to Michel Sittow of 50,000 mrs. on first appearance suggests that Juan de Flandes held a subservient position to the Baltic painter. However, the crown had difficulties fulfilling its commitment to Sittow. Over the course of their concurrent careers, the two artists received almost equal monetary compensation. They also traveled together and collaborated on art projects. For example, on February 20, 1502, Fernand Ramirez in Seville records payment of 10,000 *maravedíes* to Michael Sittow and 6,000 *maravedíes* to Juan de Flandes. *Archivo General de Simancas. Contaduria Mayor, 1 época, leg. 153*. Published in Trizna, *Michel Sittow*, 67; Silva Maroto, *Juan de Flandes*, 469. Unless otherwise stated, all translations are my own.

monarchs relocated their court to the city of Burgos.[18] Juan continued to stay at the charterhouse until the installation of a *Man of Sorrows* in 1500 (fig. 9). Although surviving documentation seems to suggest that he stayed in Miraflores these four years, it is more likely that he traveled back and forth between Burgos and the itinerant Isabelline court.[19] Michel Sittow described his transient life as Isabel's court artist during his litigation against his stepfather in 1506. The painter testified that on the date of his mother's death, November 25, 1501, he was in Toledo working in the service of the Queen of Castile. He remained in that city until May 7, 1502, when he met the servants of Philip the Handsome and Juana la Loca shortly after the entrance of the royal couple.[20] During Sittow's time in Toledo, payments for his services are also recorded in

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[18] They remained there from September 22, 1496, until May 10, 1497. During this time Christopher Columbus ceremonially presented to Isabel and Fernando numerous jewels, a golden crown, and a solid gold necklace weighing 600 *castellanos*. A portion of this gold was utilized at Miraflores, specifically in the gilding of the *retablo mayor* sculpted by Gil de Silo and gilded by Diego de la Cruz. A. d. Miranda, *Apuntes históricos sobre la cartuja de Miraflores de Burgos* (Burgos: Imprinta de Pascual Polo, 1843), 73-75. The presentation of these Mesoamerican objects and their utilization in the monastery at which Juan de Flandes was currently employed provided ample opportunity for Juan de Flandes to view this exotica.

[19] For example, during 1499, Isabel began the year in Ocaña. She was in Madrid from March 8 until May 29, and Toledo from May 29 to June 3. She traveled to Andalucía from June 4 until July 1, then stayed in Granada from July 2 until November 30 with the exception of July 17 which was spent in Moclin and October 4, spent in Santa Fe. She resided in Seville from December 10 through the end of the year. A. Rumeu de Armas, *Itinerario de los Reyes Católicos, 1474-1516* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Instituto Jerónimo Zurita, 1974), 251-257.

[20] This lengthy sojourn did not coincide with the itinerary of the queen, who did not arrive in the Toledo until April 23, 1502. P. Johansen, "Meister Michel Sittow, Hofmaler der Königln Isabella von Kastilien und Bürger von Reval," *Jahrbuch der Preussichen Kunstsammlungen* 61 (1940): 4; Trizna, *Michel Sittow*, 11.

the account books of Seville.[21] Though the court painters may have been primarily stationed in one place or another, they likely travelled continuously across Castile drifting from the current location of the court to long-term site specific projects, to anticipated court locations. These trans-Iberian journeys would have exposed the northern painters to the localized Castilian culture resulting from the shifting of socio-political boundaries during the six centuries of the *reconquista.*[22] The regional travel provided opportunities to become intimately aware of the landscapes, foods, customs, histories, and devotional lives of contemporary Spain. Moreover, Juan de Flandes certainly interacted with painters active in the local production of artistic culture. These experiences resulted in the "hispanization" of Juan de Flandes' visual style.

While the only extant works by Juan de Flandes created during Isabel's reign for which documentation survives are the *Retablo de Isabel* and the *Retablo de San Juan Bautista*, several additional works have been firmly attributed to his hand including a *Lamentation* (fig. 10), a *Virgin and Child* (fig. 11), and *Portrait of*

[21] If it is assumed that Sittow personally traveled to Seville to receive his payment, the reference to Juan de Flandes in the same notarial entry reveals similar travels across the kingdom. "Que dio e pago mas por una nomina de su Altesa fecha en Sevilla a XX de hebrero de quinientos e dos anos:- A Michel Aleman pintor, XM mrs. E a Juan de Flandes, pintor, vi M mrs. En quenta de lo que ovieron de aver de ano." Archivo General de Simancas. Contaduria Mayor, 1 época, leg. 153, s.f. Published in Trizna, *Michel Sittow*, 67.

[22] The impact of the *reconquista* on the paintings of Juan de Flandes will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Isabel (fig. 12).[23] The most problematic work is the copy of Rogier van der Weyden's *Miraflores Altarpiece* (fig. 13-14), only attributed to Juan de Flandes in the last decade. Several additional works are associated with Juan de Flandes, his circle, or his influence. Records in Guadalupe for the expenses incurred in the refinishing of the cathedral choir include payments totaling 275,149 *maravedíes* to a "Flandresco" for "works that he did."[24] The high price paid as well as the location in the cathedral of Guadalupe, a site of royal patronage, allow for the possibility that the work was done by Juan de Flandes. However, as the paintings no longer survive with the exception of four angels in the vaults (fig. 15) it is impossible to state definitively. Stylistic similarity to Juan's documented works has also been noted in the *Adoration of the Magi* from the church of Santa Maria del Castillo in Cevera del Rio Pisuerga near Palencia (fig. 16), though the specific position of this object in the artist's oeuvre or influence is unclear.[25]

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[23] Silva Maroto, *Juan de Flandes*, 49.

[24] "Y lo que hizo el Flandresco 275,149 mrs." P. F. G. Rubio, *Historia de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe* (Barcelona: Industrias gráficas Thomas, 1926), 401-403; F. S. García, *El coro de Guadalupe: Historia y arte* (Seville: Ediciones Guadalupe, 2002), 132-141.

[25] For the purposes of this dissertation I have chosen to emphasize works widely attributed to Juan de Flandes: The *Retablo de San Juan Bautista,* the copy of the *Miraflores Altarpiece,* the *Retablo de Isabel,* the *retablo* for the *Capilla* of the University of Salamanca, and the *retablo mayor* of Palencia. Historiography and issues related to attribution of these works are addressed in the subsequent chapters. A more detailed analysis of Juan de Flandes'sss oeuvre can be found in Silva Maroto, *Juan de Flandes*, 33-48; Weniger, *Sittow, Morros, Juan de Flandes*, 201-256.

The movement of Juan de Flandes across Castile and his involvement at the court during his service to the Catholic queen was instrumental in establishing contacts in major urban centers. After the death of Isabel on November 26, 1504, Juan de Flandes remained in Castile, competing with local painters for commissions. On August 29, 1505, he submitted a sample panel to the University of Salamanca for consideration for a new altarpiece.[26] The painter signed a contract on September 2 for the creation of fourteen panels to be created in one year for 85,000 *maravedíes*, almost three times his annual pension at the court.[27] The work was not competed in full until July 4, 1508. Juan de Flandes requested that the university increase payment for the altarpiece because of the additional time spent on the paintings, specifically improvements made over the last year.[28] The discussion must have been favorable as they voted to give him an additional 15,000 *maravedíes*. Juan remained in Salamanca until 1508 or 1509, during which time he created a funerary *retablo* for a leading member of the Salamanca community, Francisco Rodriguez de San Isidro (fig. 17).[29]

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[26] This project will be discussed in depth in chapter 5.
[27] Archivo Universitario de Salamanca, *Libro de claustros* no. 4, fols. 150r, 150v, and 151r. Vandevivère, *La cathédrale de Palencia*, 79-80.
[28] Archivo universitario de Salamanca, *Libro de claustros*, no. 5, fols. 99r-99v. Ibid., 81.
[29] Silva Maroto, *Juan de Flandes*, 44-45.

The Flemish painter then became involved in the *retablo mayor* for the high altar of the cathedral of Palencia.[30] Bishop Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca commissioned eleven narrative panels from Juan de Flandes for the incredibly high price of 187,000 *maravedíes* to be paid over three years.[31] Unlike the University of Salamanca records, no other assessment of Juan de Flandes' professional activities can be gleaned from surrounding documentation. However, stylistic analysis has led to the attribution of the high altar of the nearby Church of Saint Lazarus and a large *retablo* for the convent of Santa Clara to his hand.[32] Between the years in Salamanaca and Palencia, Juan de Flandes married. He remained in Palencia until his death in 1519.[33]

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[30] This inclusion of this work in the oeuvre of Juan de Flandes was first proposed by J. A. Ceán Bermúdez, *Diccionario histórico de los más illustres professores de las bellas artes en España*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Reales Academias de Bellas Artes de San Fernando y de la Historia, 1800), 1: 119.

[31] Two additional scenes painted by Juan de Flandes while in Palencia, a *Descent from the Cross* and a *Pietà* were never included in the altarpiece design. The images were removed from the cathedral and are today in a private collection in Madrid. Vandevivère, *La cathédrale de Palencia*, 66-67, 85.

[32] The *retablo mayor* from the Church of San Lázaro is currently divided between the National Gallery of Art in Washington D.C. and the Prado in Madrid. The only surviving piece of the altarpiece from the convent of Santa Clara is a central panel of St. John in the National Archeological Museum in Madrid. The work was most likely commissioned by don Fadrique Enriquez, admiral of Castile, who was living in Palencia. The convent of Santa Clara was the burial site of the admiral's parents, the Third Admiral don Alonso Enriquez and María de Velaso, and although Fadrique chose to be buried in Medina de Rio Seco he was the primary patron of the convent. E. Ortega Gato, "Blasones y mayorazgos de Palencia," *Publicaciones de la Institución Tello Téllez de Meneses* 3 (1950): 57-58, 99-106; I. Vandevivère, "Juan de Flandes, La resurrección," in *De la edad media al romanticismo* (Madrid: Galería Caylus, 1993), 30-33.

[33] This is known through payments in the Cathedral records made on June 13, 1520 of 3,000 *maravedíes* to the "mugger de Juan de Flandes." Palencia, Archivo de la Catedral, Armario I, legojo 4, document 1: Libro de las obras, fol. 90v-91v. Published in Vandevivère, *La cathédrale de Palencia*, 69-71.

Interpreting the Career of Juan de Flandes

The secondary literature surrounding Juan de Flandes has focused primarily upon the establishment of his artistic personality and organization of his oeuvre. Like most painters of the late fifteenth century, Juan quietly slipped into obscurity after his death.[34] In 1783, Antonio Ponz discovered documentation for a Juan Flamenco active at the Carthusian charterhouse of Miraflores, although the items listed in the documents could not at that time be connected to any surviving paintings.[35] The surviving contract for the still in situ *retablo mayor* in Palencia allowed for recognition of Juan de Flandes as a historic persona and provided a solid basis for analyzing his painting style.[36]

The inconsistency of nomenclature and the movement or destruction of objects through history slowed further identification of Juan's works. In 1857, Joseph Archer Crowe and G. B. Cavelcasselle proposed that the names Juan Flamenco and Juan de Flandes might be the same person.[37] Several decades later, Karl Justi identified the preserved panels of the *Retablo de Isabel* in the

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[34] Through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Northern European-styled works in Spain were regularly attributed to Albrecht Dürer and Lucas van Leyden. For example, the panels of the *Retablo de Isabel* in the Alcazare of Madrid were attributed to Dürer in an 1814 inventory compiled under Fernando VII. Silva Maroto, *Juan de Flandes*, 13.
[35] Ponz, *Viaje de España*, 55.
[36] Vandevivère, *La cathédrale de Palencia*, 1-75.
[37] J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle, *Lives of the Early Flemish Painters: with Notices of their Works* (London: John Murray, 1857), 317.

Spanish Royal Collection through the inventories of Margaret of Austria and Philip II.[38] Justi then connected the paintings via stylistic similarity to the *retablo mayor* of Palencia cathedral and thus to Juan de Flandes. After Manuel Gómez-Moreno Martinéz identified the fragments of the *retablo* for the Salamanca University *capilla,* Juan de Flandes was recognized as having a small but definitive oeuvre.[39] To these works were added the *St. Michael and St. Frances* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in 1911 and the Miraflores *Ecce Homo* in 1917.[40] The first monograph assessing Juan de Flandes's work appeared in 1962, and in 1985 Ignace Vandevivere curated the only monographic exhibition.[41] However, there continued to be great difficulty in separating the work of Juan de Flandes from that of his Hispano-Flemish comrades and fellow Northern European émigrés, specifically the identification of hands in the panels of the *Miraflores Altarpiece* and its copy.[42] The work attributed to Juan most recently, in 2003, is the *Retablo de San Juan Bautista*.[43]

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[38] C. Justi, "Juan de Flandes, ein niederländischer Hofmaler Isabella der Katholischen," *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussichen Kunstammlunger* 8 (1887): 283-293.
[39] M. G. Moreno, "La capilla de la Universidad de Salamanca," *Boletín de la sociedad española de excursiones* 6 (1913-1914): 321-389.
[40] E. Bertaux, "Correspondence d'Angleterre: L'exposition espagnole de Londres," *Gazette des Beaux-arts* 11 (1914): 252; Moreno, "La capilla de la Universidad de Salamanca," 321-360.
[41] Bermejo, *Juan de Flandes*; I. Vandevivère, *Juan de Flandes: Brugge, Memlingmuseum, Sint-Janshospitaal, 1 octobre - 11 novembre 1985 : Louvain-La-Neuve, Musée universitaire, 16 novembre - 22 décembre 1985* (Brussels: Crédit Communal, 1985).
[42] F. J. Sánchez Cantón, "El retablo de la reina católica (Addenda et corrigenda)," *Archivo español de arte y arqueologia* 7 (1931): 113; F. Winkler, "Neue Werke des Meister Michiel," *Pantheon* IV

Attempts to organize Juan de Flandes' oeuvre chronologically have been equally problematic.[44] According to teleologicial theories of style, early works by Juan de Flandes should correspond to Flemish models with later works incorporating an ever increasing number of Iberian elements, resulting in a clear evolution from one style the other.[45] His documented paintings do not

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(1931): 175-178; M. J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (New York: Praeger, 1967-1973), 21: 54.

[43] This work was first identified by De Coo in 1979, but all the component panels have only recently been identified. S. Urbach, "An Ecce Agnus Dei Attributed to Juan de Flandes: A Lost Panel from a Hypothetical Altarpiece," *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten* (2001): 189-207.

[44] For example, the literature on the *Adoration of the Magi* from Cervera del Rio Piguerga, near Palencia, has been interpreted as dating either to the reign of Isabel or to Juan de Flandes'sss time in Palencia at the end of his career.

[45] The teleological modelof stylistic development is based on Georg Wilhelm Freidrich Hegel's public lectures on Aesthetics, printed in 1827. Hegel described culture as continually evolving towards representations of an ideal idea, where changes in each historical moment result from a common spiritual drive of culture-as-human consciousness, the "zeitgeist." See G. W. Hegel, *Hegel: On the Arts*, trans. H. Paolucci (Smyrna, DE: The Bagehot Council, 2001), 190. Alois Reigl applied Hegelian models to artistic style, presenting individual objects as part of a developmental sequence with innovation defined retrospectively through adherence to later features. Riegl definied this forward momentum as the "Kunstwollen." A. Riegl, *The Group Portraiture of Holland*, trans. E. Kain and D. Britt (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1999), 63. The belief that objecs produced under similar circumstance should share formal features became the underlying premise of connoisseurship. Max Fiedländer argued that this model can be used to describe both the developments of individual artists and larger movements. He emphasized the importance of recognizing and categorizing personal, regional, and period styles. M. J. Friedländer, *On Art and Connoisseurship*, trans. T. Borenius (Boston: Beacon Press, 1960), 143-154. The Flemish regional style may be defined generally by a delight in the qualities of light and hyper-realistic simulated textures. Brightly painted highly-detailed objects from the natural world are placed in realistic interiors organized according to atmospheric and optic observations. The elongated and rounded figures are often dressed in heavy cloth that cascades in crisp, angular, indeed sculpturesque folds. The bright bejeweled surfaces are created using layers of oil glazes. In contrast, Iberian painting in the fifteenth century continued the aesthetics popularized during the International Gothic period of the late fourteenth century. Large iconic figures appear against gold-leaf backgrounds, often punched and gessoed into intensely complicated and detailed patterns. The placement of scenes into large altarpieces privileged legibility over narrative intricacies more

follow an organic development.[46] Instead, he intersperses stylistic elements and narrative variants from the two regions continuously throughout his career. For example, he incorporated the yellow rocky landscape inhabited by ethnically diverse figures in response to Iberian lived realities almost immediately upon his arrival at the Castilian court (fig. 6).[47] Yet the significantly later *Retablo de San Miguel* (fig. 17) returns to a verdant palette and

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common to the Flemish school. In the second half of the fifteenth century, Spanish painting began to incorporate the colors, textures, and spaces of contemporary Netherlandish masters while also drawing inspiration from the figures and compositions of German printmakers including Martin Schongauer, Master I.A.M. of Zwolle, Master E.S. and Israhel van Meckenem. P. Silva Maroto, "Influencia de los grabados nórdicos en la pintura hispanoflamenca," *Archivo español de arte* 234 (1988): 271-289; A. Galilea Antón, "Martin Schongauer y su importancia en la pintura hispanoflamenca," in *La pintura gótica hispanoflamenca: Bartolomé Bermejo y su época*, ed. S. A. i. Blanch, (Barcelona: Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, 2003), 87-98; A. Dotseth, "Maestro Bartolomé's Use of Prints in the Altarpiece of Ciudad Rodrigo," in *Fernando Gallego and his Workshop: The Altarpiece from Ciudad Rodrigo, Paintings from the Collection of the University of Arizona Museum of Art*, ed. A. Dotseth, B. Anderson, and M. Roglán, (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2008), 117-145. However, Castilian painters did not simply copy Northern European imagry. Instead, they reinterpreted formal qualities to reflect localized subjects and iconographic variants. For example, the use of architectural ruins often employed by Netherlandish painters to express temporal shifts between the biblical past and the devotional present, exemplified by Rogier van der Weyden's *Columba Altarpiece,* were not imitated by Castilian painters even as the compositional arrangements from this scene became extremely common. The appearance of similarly styled architecture in the paintings of Juan de Flandes has been pointed to as evidence for his Netherlandish style. Bermejo, *Juan de Flandes*, 6-7. On the function of architectural ruins in Netherlandish painting see A. Acres, "The Columba Altarpiece and the Time of the World," *Art Bulletin* 80 (1998): 422-451. Even as Northern European aesthetics became increasingly popular, Castilian panels continued to be assembled according to Iberian altarpiece morphological developments. For further discussion of style as independent from the Castilian altarpiece tradition, see J. Berg Sobré, *Behind the Altar Table: The Development of the Painted Retable in Spain, 1350-1500* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1989), 205-206; M. W. Ainsworth, "Juan de Flandes, Chameleon Painter," in *Invention: Northern Renaissance Studies in Honor of Molly Faries*, ed. J. Chapuis, (Belgium: Turnhout, 2008), 105-121; J. E. A. Kroesen, *Staging the Liturgy: The Medieval Altarpiece in the Iberian Peninsula*, *Liturgia Condenda* (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 98-99.

[46] Ainsworth, "Juan de Flandes, Chameleon Painter," 105-121.

[47] Justi was the first to note the relevance of Iberian figures and landscapes. Justi, "Juan de Flandes, ein niederländischer Hofmaler Isabella der Katholischen," 164-165.

Flemish figure-types even as it includes the traditional Spanish elements of *Santiago Matamoros* and flat expanses of tooled gold leaf in the *banco*, or prudella. These stylistic shifts, if not stemming from the painter's stylistic evolution, must instead correlate to the preferences of his patrons suggesting that artistic style contributed to the meaning of the work by communicating social position and cultural distinction.

Although the analysis of Juan de Flandes' style reveals diverse influence, the critical assessment of his art in the cultural context of Isabelline Spain has been limited. The 500th anniversary of 1492 led to increased scholarly interest in the Catholic monarchs and a wealth of publications concerning their reign.[48] Generally, these texts stressed the political situation under Isabel and the voyages of Christopher Columbus. The historical narrative focused on the discovery of new worlds, scientific phenomenon, and the classical past. Juan de Flandes' position in this context was limited by his association with Northern Europe and his visual style, later deemed old-fashioned. Much of the recent literature has occurred in well researched and thought-provoking catalogue

[48] *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration*; Checa Cremades, *Reyes y mecenas: Los reyes católicos, Maximilliano I y los indicios de la Austria en España*; Fernández Pardo, *Las tablas flamencas en la Ruta Jacobea*; B. F. Weissberger, *Isabel Rules: Constructing Queenship, Wielding Power* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003); *Isabel la Católica, Queen of Castile: Critical Essays*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); P. Liss, *Isabel the Queen: Life and Times* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); J. Edwards, *Ferdinand and Isabella* (London: Pearson, 2005); Ballesteros Gallardo and Suárez Fernández, *Ysabel, la Reina Católica*; B. F. Weissberger, ed. *Queen Isabel I of Castile: Power, Patronage, Persona* (New York: Tamesis, 2008).

essays.[49] By necessity, these close studies offer limited glimpses into Juan de Flandes' broader artistic output and cultural impact. A more in-depth treatment of Juan de Flandes has been undertaken by Pilar Silva Maroto and Matthias Weniger; both authors focus on historiography as well as shifts in attribution.[50] Of particular note is the work of Chiyo Ishikawa, who focused solely on the *Retablo de Isabel*.[51] Although much of the text addresses the attribution of individual panels and the organization of the project into early and late phases, Ishikawa does attempt to draw correlations between the iconography of the panels and the religious hegemony of fifteenth-century Castile.[52]

Twentieth-century nationalism may explain the marginalization of Juan de Flandes in scholarly literature. The painter's Flemish heritage necessitated limited involvement in, or even exclusion from, the establishment of a specifically Iberian canon.[53] Yet, the absence of any documented activity in

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[49] J. O. Hand and M. Wolff, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (London: National Gallery of Art, 1986), 123-139; Campbell, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Fifteenth Century Netherlandish Schools*, 260-264; M. W. Ainsworth and K. Christiansen, eds., *From Van Eyck to Bruegel: Early Netherlandish Painting in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 216-219, 328-331.

[50] Nowhere is this imperative more visible than in Weniger's critique of Maroto for not dividing as clearly as possible accepted and contested attributions. Weniger, *Sittow, Morros, Juan de Flandes*, 17.

[51] C. Ishikawa, *The Retablo de Isabel la Católica by Juan de Flandes and Michel Sittow* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004).

[52] This will be dealt with extensively in chapter 5.

[53] Juan de Flandes is excluded from Maria Silva Pilar Maroto's seminal *Pintura hispano flamenco castellana: Burgos y Palencia, obras en table y sarga* due to his non-Castilian origins. Her definition of the "Hispano-Flemish" movement includes only Iberian painters working in a Northernized

Flanders minimized his impact on the history of Northern Renaissance art.[54] Juan de Flandes occupies an isolated no-man's-land of hybridized visual language and bastardized stylistic development incongruent with the traditional art historical European narrative.

In contrast, the current study will attempt to place Juan de Flandes into the complex socio-political context of Isabelline Spain by combining the intended purpose and cultural value of his objects with an analysis of their aesthetics.[55] This methodology questions why the paintings look the way they do, as well as how formal decisions aided in the construction of specific messages. By liberating style from its traditional role as marking the hand of the artist or region, the focus shifts from the painter to the patron.

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style. P. Silva Maroto, *Pintura hispano flamenca castellana: Burgos y Palencia : obras en tabla y sarga*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1988); Silva Maroto, *Juan de Flandes*, 18-19.

[54] The limited engagement of historians of Northern Renaissance art with Spain in general is a continuation of the Iberian Peninsula's location on the margins of European consciousness by most of the historians of the early modern and modern periods. P. J. Smith, *Writing in the Margin: Spanish Literature of the Golden Age* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 18; J. Lawrance, "Spain and Portugal," in *Cultural Atlas of the Renaissance*, ed. C. F. Black, (New york: Prentice Hall, 1993), 184-185. An important exception is the copy of the *Miraflores Altarpiece*, which, due to its association with Rogier van der Weyden, has been often included in major Northern Renaissance texts such as B. Ridderbos, H. T. van Veen, and A. Van Buren, *Early Netherlandish Paintings: Rediscovery, Reception, and Research* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005), 292-298.

[55] The term aesthetics is used to communicate the critical taste for visual culture, implying a judgment based on appreciation of the choice and use of materials, manipulation of artistic elements, figure types, compositional devices, and distinctive narrative variants or iconographies. "Aesthetics" differs from the analysis of "style" in its inclusion of content, expressive qualities, and the implicit assessment of normative value. The term aesthetics also denotes the appreciation of visual culture as an act of social positioning as defined by Pierre Bourdieu. P. Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. R. Nice (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979).

As queen of Castile, Isabel oversaw a large public image campaign that emphasized her position as legitimate queen regnant. When Isabel came to the throne, she entered into a network of binaries: legitimate vs. illegitimate, masculine vs. feminine, Castile and Leon vs. Aragon.[56] Isabel articulated her position by establishing her superiority over political rivals in matters of taste and morality. The campaign was successful, and her reputation extended beyond the borders of her kingdom. The Italian political theorist Baldassare Castiglione writes in *The Book of the Courtier* that:

> unless all the people of Spain, men and women, rich and poor, have combined to tell lies in [Isabel's] praise, there has not been in our time in the whole world a brighter example of the goodness, greatness of spirit, wisdom, religion, honor, courtesy, liberality, and in short every virtue that is Queen Isabel.[57]

Material culture was well suited to the task of personal promotion as a result of its proclivity for public display.[58]

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[56] Weissberger, *Isabel Rules*, 43; Liss, *Isabel the Queen*, 51. The distribution of power between Isabel and her husband Fernando king of Aragon will be discussed in chapter 2.

[57] B. Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier: The Singleton Translation* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2002), 237. For the reputation of Isabel in Italy see R. Menendez Pidal, "The Catholic Kings According to Machiavelli and Castiglioni," in *Spain in the Fifteenth Century 1369-1516*, ed. R. Highfield, (London: Macmillan, 1972), 405-425.

[58] The queen's advisor Hernando de Talavera was acutely aware of the ability of paintings to encourage and support the shifting of public opinion and popular beliefs. M. Mir, *Hernando de Talavera, Alejo Venegas, Franciso de Osuna, Alfonso de Madrid* (Madrid: Casa Editorial Bailly-Baillère, 1911), 1-103; F. Pereda, *Las imágenes de la discordia: Política y poética de la imagen sagrada en la España del cuatrocientos* (Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2007), 145-190.

Isabel had her choice of objects created in several competing styles: traditional Castilian, Italian classicism, and Northern European Franco-Flemish. Each aesthetic coincided with a network of political, economic, and cultural values due to its association with a specific geographic region, history, and culture. Isabel's aesthetic choices reveal her manipulation of the semiotic power of style by manipulating her consumption to communicate a tailored message in support of her broader aims.[59] Analyzing Isabel's aesthetic preferences along side her political agenda allows for the reconstruction of the multiple frames of reference essential to decoding of the implicit message of stylistic language in late fifteenth-century Castile.[60] This text will argue that

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[5959] The interpretation of Isabel's patronage as reflecting both aesthetic emotion and an understanding of regional difference allows for an assessment of the potential semiotic message of regional style.This interpretive framework relies upon Immanual Kant's definition of "dependent" beauty, an aesthetic appreciation impacted by both the pleasurable experience of viewing form and the cognative assessment of how an object exemplifies a perfect archetype. I. Kant, *Critique of Judgement*, trans. J. H. Bernard (New York: Hafner Press, 1951), 65. Robert Wicks has argued that dependent beauty includes an implied understanding of how an object relates to its type by recognizing the existence of alternative formal possibilities. R. Wicks, "Dependent Beauty as the Appreciation of Teleological Style," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticis* 55 (1997): 387-400.

[60] This interpretation of style stands in contrast to the traditional teleological model that is used to explain the unconscious regional similarity that develops among the artists considered to make up a school or over the course of an individual artist's career. The Hegelian understanding of style which forms the basis for connoisseurship studies has received sustained criticism for its difficulty in accommodating artistic agency, though it remains an essential underpinning of art historical taxonomy. For an introduction to the debates surrounding the concept of style in art history see L. Meyer, "Toward a Theory of Style," in *The Concept of Style*, ed. B. Lang, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979), 21-71; L. Meyer, *Forms of Representation in Alois Riegl's Theory of Art* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992); C. Altieri, "Personal Style in Articulate Intentionality," in *The Question of Style in Philosophy and the Arts*, ed. C. van Eck, J. Mcallister, and R. van de Vall, (Cambridge:

Juan de Flandes's specific Flemish heritage and the ability to create authentic works in the Northern European style provided him with a particular role in Isabel's self-fashioning. Her decision to employ a Flemish-trained court painter created a dual statement of a sophisticated international fashion sense and a specifically Castilian agenda. The subjects, iconographies, and style of the objects themselves reveal Isabel's self-presentation as the rightful ruler of a religiously pure kingdom of Castile, transcendent on the European stage.

Cambridge University Press, 1995), 18-36; Hegel, *Hegel: On the Arts*; J. Elsner, "Style," in *Critical Terms for Art History*, ed. R. Nelson and R. Shiff, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 98-109; P. Crowther, *Defining Art, Creating the Canon: Artistic Value in an Era of Doubt* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007); W. Davis, *A General Theory of Visual Culture* (Princeton: Princeon University Press, 2011), 45-119.

Chapter 2: Legitimacy and Legacy

Isabel's aesthetic interest in Northern European visual culture not only communicated the persona of a sophisticated wealthy monarch well versed in international trends but also manipulated a specifically Castilian ideology rooted in historical precedent. The Castilian kingdom had a history of Northern European alliances stretching back to the eleventh century. The status of the *reconquista* as a crusade facilitated continual socio-political interaction between the Iberian kingdoms and the courts of France.[61] This political and military relationship exposed medieval Castilian monarchs to developments in French Gothic architecture, manuscript illumination, and sculptural arts. By the late fifteenth century, Castilian kings and queens had established a tradition of acquiring art objects produced in Northern Europe and patronizing French and Franco-Flemish immigrant court artists. Isabel's employment of Juan de Flandes must be understood as participating in this convention and advancing Isabel's position as sole head of state through adherence to kingly activities. This message coincided with Isabel's broader legitimization efforts, addressing potential concerns that Castilian viewers held regarding the legitimacy of her position as ruler. Juan de Flandes participated

[61] The *reconquista* will be discussed further in chapter 5.

in this facet of Isabel's self-fashioning by creating an almost exact copy of Rogier van der Weyden's *Miraflores Altarpiece*. This project illuminates the importance of painting as site specific patronage at locales deeply symbolic of Castilian royal power. The special relationship between copy and original connects Isabel's propaganda program with that of her father and predecessor, Juan II, who made the original donation to the Carthusian charterhouse of Miraflores. In placing the panels created by Juan de Flandes in the context of opposition to Isabel's seat on the throne and her responding mediation of implicit criticism to her rule, I argue for the nuanced role played by the Franco-Flemish visual style in the queen's self-presentation as the sole ruler of the kingdom of Castile and Leon.

The *Miraflores Altarpiece*

In 1441 Juan II King of Castile initiated construction of the Carthusian charterhouse of Miraflores just outside the city of Burgos, a major destination on the road to Santiago de Compostela deep in Old Castile.[62] The charterhouse quickly became a residence for his itinerant court. The king furnished the monastery with liturgical objects for the benefit of the monks, including the tri-

[62] For the history of this foundation, see F. Sagredo Fernández, *La Cartuja de Miraflores* (Madrid: Ed. Everest, 1978).

part painted altarpiece, known as the *Miraflores Altarpiece* by Rogier van der Weyden (fig. 13).[63] This triptych presents three scenes from the life of the Virgin, the *Adoration*, the *Pietà,* and *Christ Appearing to his Mother.* Each episode is framed by an archivolt pegged with stone sculpture and with *trompe l'oeil* decorative wood carved tracery in the upper spandrels similar to the his masterpiece, the *Descent from the Cross* (fig. 18). The archivolts depict scenes from the Christological narrative related to the central subject and are physically and conceptually supported by the four evangelists, St. Peter, and St. Paul, sculpted on the jambs. The three architectural spaces create a fictive church façade, providing entrance to barrel-vaulted porticoes, rib-vaulted halls with historiated capitals, and a deep continuous landscape.

The sculptures adorning the archivolts depict scenes from the life of the Christ and the Virgin, including an Infancy cycle above the *Adoration,* a Passion cycle above the *Lamentation,* and the Virgin's bereavement above *Christ Appearing to his Mother.* The narratives are organized to initiate at the apex of the archivolt, and then proceed counterclockwise, creating an implied movement through the central figures below. The combination of the *Adoration* and nativity cycle with the Passion and Post-Passion imagery guides the viewer

[63]R. Grosshans, "Rogier van der Weyden: Der Marienaltar aus der Kartause Miraflores," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 23 (1981): 49-112.

to meditate on the sacrifice of Christ the broader context of salvation and connects the imagery to contemporary devotional texts.[64] Small angels carrying crowns and fluttering banderols that praise Mary for her purity and sacrifice heighten the devotional efficacy as they push beyond the boundaries of the fictive frame into the viewer's space.[65] The primary narratives are set in the fictive frame of the portals.[66] The devotional atmosphere is further cultivated through the conceptual stillness of the main scenes, which are devoid of all but the most necessary indicators of narrative content. Figures are positioned in moments of repose with limited gestures. Even in *Christ Appearing to his Mother,* where Jesus has startled Mary by his sudden emergence, the Virgin

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[64] E. Panofsky, "Reintegration of a Book of Hours Executed in the Workshop of the 'Maître des Grandes Heures de Rohan'," in *Medieval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter*, ed. W. R. W. Koehler, (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1939), 491; E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1971), 1: 261.

[65] The text above the *Adoration* reads "Mulier hec fuit probatissima, munda ab omni labe; ideo accipiet coronam vitae ex. Jac. I;" above the *Lamentation* "Mulier hec fuit fidelissima in Christi dolor; ideo datur ei corona vitae. Ex Apoc II capituol;" and above the *Appearance* "Mulier hec perseuerauit vincens Omnia; ideo data est ei coronoa. Ex Apoc. VI capitulo." The hem of the Virgin's gown is also embroidered with the *Magnificat.* For analysis of the relationship between the inscriptions and the iconography see Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 1: 259-260; Grosshans, "Rogier van der Weyden: Der Marienaltar aus der Kartause Miraflores," 49-112.

[66] It is possible that when installed in its original frame, the *Miraflores Altarpiece* would have included three-dimensional moldings that further erased the division between the actual space of the viewer and the fictive space of the image. S. Kemperdick, J. Sander, and B. Eclercy, eds., *The Master of Flémalle and Rogier van der Weyden: An Exhibition Organized by the Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main, and the Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen, Berlin* (Ostfildern, Germany: Hatje Cantz, 2009), 318. A similar affect was achieved by Jan van Eyck in the *Annunciation* diptych now in the Thyssen-Bornemisza collection, Madrid. R. Preimesberger, "Zu Jan van Eycks Diptychon der Sammlung Thyssen-Bornemisza," *Zeitschrift für Kunstigeschichte* 54 (1991): 459-489.

minimizes her movement with only a slightly twisted torso and gently raised hands.

Although the framing elements segment the overall composition, Rogier unites the three scenes through the careful use of bright color and repetition of the background space. Each of the three sets of figures is clothed in a varying combination of red, white, and blue. In the *Adoration,* the sparsely dressed Christ-child is nestled upon Mary's crisp white gown while Joseph looks on in bright crimson robes and a deep blue hood. In the far right composition, Christ dons the traditional red cloak announcing his Resurrection while Mary wears her traditional blue with mantle and white veil. The figures in the two side scenes are also positioned as to create mirrored "U" shaped compositions, with the highest figure placed on the internal edge of the scene. In contrast the central composition is organized as an "X" with the dominant diagonal corresponding to the creamy flesh of Christ set in high contrast against the crimson of Mary's gown. St. John is dressed in a deep indigo, connecting the image chromatically with the side scenes.

Rogier further integrates the panels through the detailed background spaces. While each vignette occurs before a unique background, the three are unified in their placement beneath barrel vaults supported by columns. The

space in *Christ Appearing to his Mother* expands beyond this minimal interior into a rib-vaulted crossing. Two exterior doors are then flung open to reveal a distant landscape. Nestled in the rolling hills and winding roads is a miniature scene of the Resurrection, with Christ rising from the tomb amidst sleeping soldiers and an angel (fig. 19). This depiction of the larger outside world extends beyond the boundaries of the panel, encompassing the space to the rear of the *Pietà.* Although the hill of Golgotha topped with the cross dominates the view, the continuous landscape unites the scene with that at the left. The similarities in setting locate the scenes in the same temporal-spatial construct. Similarly, the interior space of the *Adoration,* though limited by the luxurious cloth of honor, includes the same tiled floor and rib-vaulted crossing as in the scene of *Christ Appearing to his Mother.* The unification of the three scenes through their coloring and background details emphasizes the interconnectivity of birth, death, and rebirth with a devotional context.

Although the exact origins of the *Miraflores Altarpiece's* are unknown, it was likely acquired by Isabel's father Juan II.[67] The triptych was certainly a

[67] Antonio Ponz stated that, according to the *libro del becerro* at the Miraflores monastery (now lost), Juan II donated a costly and pious altarpiece, with the *Nativity*, the *Descent from the Cross*, and the *Appearance of Christ to his Mother*, to the monastery in 1445. The altarpiece was painted by the Flemish master Roger. Ponz, *Viaje de España*, 12:57-18. Ponz also recorded that according to oral tradition, the altarpiece was given to the king by Pope Martin V. As Martin V died in 1431, this was assumed to be a terminus date for the creation of the painting. B. Lane, "Rogier's Saint John and Miraflores Altarpieces Reconsidered," *Art Bulletin* 68 (1978): 655. Châtelet argued

treasured object. Later in his reign, Juan II donated the triptych to the Carthusian chapterhouse in honor of his deceased first wife, María of Aragon it remained at the monastery for the subsequent three centuries, and was first described by Ponz during his visit to Miraflores in 1783.[68] The altarpiece was removed during the War of Independence, most likely in 1809 by the Viscount de Armagnac as the triptych appears in the sale of his collection shortly thereafter.[69] The panels were purchased by a wine merchant and resold to King William II of the Netherlands.[70] The *Miraflores Altarpiece* was put up for sale again in 1850, when it was acquired by the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin.

Rogier's compositions also survive in a virtually identical copy created by Juan de Flandes and now divided between the *Capilla Real* of Granada and

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that the altarpiece was presented to Juan II by a papal delegation in 1429. A. Châtelet, "L'atelier de Robert Campin," in *Les grands siècles de Tournai (12e-15e siècles)* (Tournai: 1993), 13-37; A. Châtelet, *Robert Campin, le Maître de Flámalle: La fascination du quotidien* (Antwerp: Fonds Mercator, 1996). However, the dendrochronological analysis reveals that painting cannot reasonably have been begun before 1435-1437. P. Klein, "Dendrochronologische Untersuchungen an Eichenholztafeln von Rogier van der Weyden," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 23 (1981): 113-123. The morphology of three equally sized fixed panels, uncustomary in Flanders, as well as the limited impact of the compositions on subsequent Netherlandish painting have been understood as indicators of a specifically Spanish commission. D. De Vos, *Rogier van der Weyden: The Complete Works* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2000), 232.

[68] It was also at this time that Ponz witnessed the panels of the *Retablo de Juan Bautista* discussed in chapter 3. The removal of objects from Miraflores led to much confusion as to which surviving panels were viewed by Ponz during his visit. This has led some scholars to hypothesize that the references to images of John the Baptist refer not to the *retablo* of Juan de Flandes but to the *Altarpiece of John the Baptist* also painted by Rogier van der Weyden and now located in the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin.

[69] E. Bermejo, "Las tablas flamencas," in *El libro de la Capilla Real*, ed. P. Andrade and D. J. Manuel, (Granada: Copartgraf, 1994), 182.

[70] E. Hinterding and F. Horsch, "'A Small but Choice Collection': The Art Gallery of King Willem II of the Netherlands (1792-1849)," *Simiolus* 19 (1989): 22.

the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.[71] Juan de Flandes' version was presumably created during Isabel's reign for the queen's personal use. The panels in New York and Granada are on a slightly smaller scale with correction of the observational perspective to correspond to mathematical one-point perspective.[72] Juan de Flandes utilized an abbreviated painting technique to simulate Rogier van der Weyden's crisp visual effects. Whereas Rogier utilized many layers of thin glazes to produce subtle modeling, Juan placed a few layers of glaze atop half-toned middle layers that affect the final appearance of the surface.[73] These areas are then enhanced with the addition of surface strokes in differing shades simulating the shadows and highlights. This new painting

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[71] The removal of the panels from their original context has led much of the scholarship to debate the identification of the panel by Rogier van der Weyden from the copy. For example see Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 278, 259; M. Davies, *Rogier Van Der Weyden* (Phaidon Press, 1972), 213; Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 2: 68. The identification of the Gemäldegalerie version as the original work by Rogier van der Weyden was first established by Grosshans in 1981, based upon a combination of historical, stylistic, iconographical, and technical analyses. Grosshans, "Rogier van der Weyden: Der Marienaltar aus der Kartause Miraflores," 49-112.The differentiation between copy and original was not definitive until it was discovered through dendochronological analysis that the Metropolitan and paintings are cut from the same tree as of the side panels of the *Retablo de San Juan Bautista* and were prepared using calcium sulphate as was traditional in Spain rather than calcium carbonate as was common in the Netherlands. Maryan Ainsworth furthers the support for this division through a close analysis of the handling of paint and style of the underdrawing. Ainsworth, "Juan de Flandes, Chameleon Painter," 118-119.

[72] For theories on methods used to transfer the composition see J. Dijkstra, "Methods for the Copying of Paintings in the Southern Netherlands in the 15th and Early 16th Centuries," in *Le dessin sous-jacent dans la peinture: Colloque VIII; Dessins sous-jacent et copies*, ed. D. Hollanders-Favart and R. v. Schoute, (Louvain: Université catholique de Louvain, 1991), 100-105.

[73] Ainsworth, "Juan de Flandes, Chameleon Painter," 121.

technique would have reduced production time without compromising the final appearance.

The copy of the *Miraflores Altarpiece* was presumably transported with the queen's effects as she traversed the Iberian Peninsula. The painting was later installed into the *Capilla Real* of Granada as part of the royal donation made by Fernando when he oversaw the completion of the project in accordance with Isabel's wishes. In her last will and testament, the queen had ordered that the objects used in her personal devotion be installed in her funerary chapel.[74] These objects were not inventoried in the royal treasury of the Alcazar of Seville, and were therefore not stored with the queen's general collection during her lifetime. The small collection of paintings, reliquaries, and liturgical service pieces would have been installed in the queen's private chapel wherever the court resided.[75]

Isabel's eventual donation of the altarpiece to the *Capilla Real* reveals that the triptych was one of her most prized possessions. Although access to it was likely limited to the queen and the closest members of her entourage, it is

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[74] Bermejo, "Las tablas flamencas," 177.

[75] Sometime in the years before 1632, the scene of *Christ Appearing to his Mother* was separated from the triptych. The remaining two panels were then repurposed by Philip IV, who had them cut down so as to serve as reliquary doors. The provenance of *Christ Appearing to his Mother* is unknown until 1917 when the Duke of Osuna sold the painting, which was then in his personal collection, to Michael Drieces of New York. In 1921 Drieces donated the panels to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Ibid., 182; Ainsworth and Christiansen, *From Van Eyck to Bruegel*, 218.

probable that many members of the queen's household and cort were knowledgeable about the painting and its status as a copy of an object owned by a previous king. Isabel was the sole patron of the Miraflores monastery during her lifetime, and the court would have access to the site when installed in Burgos.[76] The commissioning of an almost identical copy of one of Juan II's treasured art objects provided Isabel with a continual multi-layered connection to her familial origins and obligations, a powerful conceptual connection between father and daughter that provided efficacy to Isabel's devotions for the good of his soul. The duplicate of the *Miraflores Altarpiece* also functioned as symbolic and material proof of the familial relationship between the two patrons, implicitly reminding the viewer of Isabel's position as the legitimate ruler of Castile.

The Making of a Queen

Isabel's need to establish her legitimacy as ruler through actions such as the commissioning of the Miraflores copy was due in part to the difficulties encountered while establishing her reign. Upon her birth in 1451, few could

[76] The Isabelline court resided in Burgos in 1475, 1476, 1495, 1496, and 1497 Rumeu de Armas, *Itinerario de los Reyes Católicos, 1474-1516*, 46-48, 50-51, 54, 218, 229-231, 232-234. Burgos was also the primary residence of Juana and Philip when in Spain. In January of 1508, Juana hoped that Philip would accompany her to Miraflores. N. Rubin, *Isabella of Castile: The First Renaissance Queen* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991), 395.

have guessed that the young princess would become the powerful queen whose kingdoms extended across nearly the entire Iberian Peninsula. Her older half-brother, Enrique, born of Juan II's first wife had been raised since birth as the heir apparent to Castile y Léon. The arrival of a younger brother, Alfonso, cemented Isabel's position as unnecessary to the continuation of the Trastamara line. When Juan II died in Valladolid during Isabel's third year the kingdom calmly passed to Enrique IV.[77] Shortly thereafter, however, his rule was plagued by infighting among his courtiers. A faction of unhappy *grandées* rallied behind Isabel's younger brother Alfonso, and Castile was thrown into civil war. When the young prince died in the midst of the rebellion in 1468, Isabel took his place as the face of the resistance. The princess and her advisors succeeded in negotiating peace between the rebels and the crown, and in August of 1468 the treaty of Toros de Guisando was signed. Under heavy duress from the aristocracy, Enrique IV agreed to name Isabel as his successor in lieu of his own daughter, Juana (known as Juana la Beltraneja), if in return Isabel agreed to relinquish all claims toward the throne until his death.[78] Although Enrique publicly agreed to the terms, he refrained from officially

[77] For an overview of his reign, see W. D. Phillips, *Enrique IV and the Crisis of Fifteenth-Century Castile (1425-1480)* (Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1978).
[78] T. de Azcona, *Isabel la Católica: Estudio critic de su vida y su reinado* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Crístianos, 1964), 140-153; Liss, *Isabel the Queen*, 105-109.

naming Isabel his successor for some time.[79] Even after signing the peace treaty, Juana continued to present an imminent threat to Isabel's position. Almost immediately after the coronations of Isabel and Fernando, Alfonso V, king of Portugal, capitalized upon this opportunity by marrying the sole descendent of Enrique IV and vowing to defend her claim to the Castilian crown. He invaded Castile in May of 1475, throwing the country into a civil war of succession that extended through the first five years of Isabel's reign. [80]

The difficulties faced by Isabel as the legitimate queen of Castile led her to renegotiate her self-presentation so as to fashion herself as an alternative to her niece. She downplayed Juana's claim by casting the princess as the illegitimate daughter of a cuckolded, impotent, emasculated father, and the embodied of corrupt feminine appetites. The criticisms extended from the reign of Enrique IV and the reasons given by the initial rebellion of Isabel's youth for rising up against their sovereign. As early as 1464 the *grandées* had circulated the *Carta-Protesta,* an anonymous open letter enumerating the offences of Enrique IV.[81] The text claimed that the king did not justly rule the kingdom,

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[79] C. Guardiola-Griffiths, *Legitimizing the Queen: Propaganda and Ideology in the Reign of Isabel I of Castile* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Incorporated, 2010), 54.
[80] W. H. Prescott, *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella: The Catholic, of Spain* (London: Richard Bentley, 1859), 1: 143-149.
[81] H. Pulgar, *Cronica de los senores Reyes Catolicos don Fernando y doña Isabel de Castilla y de Aragon escrita por su cronista, Hernando del Pulgar, cotexada con antiguos manuscritos y aumentado* (Valencia: Benito Monfort, 1780), 3-4; M. D. d. Valera, "Memorial de diversas hazañas," in

but gave excessive privileges to his favorite Beltrán de la Cueva.[82] The letter also described Enrique as engaging in homosexual acts with Beltrán as well as providing Beltrán sexual access to the queen. The king was forced to publicly admit to the charges regarding the relationship between the queen and Beltrán as Juana of Portugal had become pregnant in 1468 while openly estranged from her husband.

These charges against Enrique IV, and by extension his daughter, critiqued their morality and undermining their appropriatness as head of the state. In addition to the common association of homosexuality with extravagance and pride, the charge of sodomy in Iberia also carried with it connotations of *mudejarización* due to the construction of Islamic sexuality as divergent from Christian heteronormativity.[83] Unsurprisingly, the *Carta-*

Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla, ed. C. Rosell, *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* (Madrid: Atlas, 1953), 33; A. MacKay, "Ritual and Propaganda in Fifteenth-Century Castile," *Past and Present* 107 (1985): 3-45; B. F. Weissberger, "'A tierra, puto!' Alfonso de Palencia's Discourse on Effeminacy," in *Queer Iberia*, ed. J. Blackmore and G. S. Hutcheson, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 301-302.

[82] The value of "ideal friendship," that is the permanent union of two men as a perfect state benefiting both parties, was an important theme in Western philosophy described by Cicero, St. Augustine, and Thomas Aquinas. However, Castiglione and others argue that a king has to be careful in cultivating personal relationships because the difference in rank prevents true equality between a monarch and his companion. The perversion of the relationship between Enrique IV and Beltrán through the granting of exclusive political and economic privileges resulted in a polluted body politic because the king was no longer functioning as the sole locus of power.

[83] While a modern history of Muslim sexuality is admittedly problematic from a Western perspective due to Edward Said's "orientalism," the otherness of medieval Saracens was often marked through sexual excess in medieval Spain. J. M. Continente Ferrer, "Aproximación al

Protesta also states that the king improperly consorted with non-Christians.[84] Therefore, the charges against Enrique IV included pollution of the king's physical body, his spiritual body, and the body politic.[85] In the agreement signed at Toros de Guisando, Enrique IV was forced to acknowledge that his wife had been unfaithful though he refrained from explicitly stating that the child was illegitimate or that he himself engaged in immoral acts.

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estudio del tema de amor en la poesía hispano-árabe de los siglos XII y XIII," *Awraq I* (1978): 12-28; N. Roth, "'Fawn of my Delights': Boy-Love in Hebrew and Arabic Verse," in *Sex in the Middle Ages: A Book of Essays*, ed. J. E. Salisbury, (New York: Garland, 1991), 157-172. The legend of Saint Pelagius, a Christian youth propositioned by the caliph 'Abd ar-Rahman III, constructed the perception of Alandalusian homoeroticism from the tenth century onward. M. Díaz y Díaz, "La pasión de San Pelayo y su difusión," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 6 (1969): 106-112; M. D. Jordan, "Saint Pelagius, Ephebe and Martyr," in *Queer Iberia: Sexualities, Cultures, and Crossings from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance*, ed. J. Blackmore and G. S. Hutcheson, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 23-47. In the early fifteenth-century, Alfonso Martínez archipriest of Talavara described in burlesque detail the "disorderly love" he observed in his fellow Castilians including a lengthy passage on the effeminate sodomites. The manuscript of this text, Escorial h.III.10, was inventoried in the library of Queen Isabel. C. Brown, "Queer Representation in the *Arçipreste de Talavera*, or, The *Maldezir de mugeres* Is a Drag," in *Queer Iberia: Sexualities, Cultures, and Crossings from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance*, ed. J. Blackmore and G. S. Hutcheson, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 96 n. 96. The connection between sodomy and heresy allowed for an additional nuance of sorcery. Not only were non-Christians believed to have deviant sexual appetites, they could use black magic to assist in satisfying their homo-erotic urges. Such were the charges against Álvaro de Luna. P. Carrillo de Heute, *Crónica del halconero de Juan II* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1946), 332.

[84] In general, the most transgressive sexual improprieties were relations between members of differing faiths. D. Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 127-165; M. E. Perry, *The Handless Maiden: Moriscos and the Politics of Religion in Early Modern Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 38-64.

[85] Francisc Eiximenis described sodomy in the language of contagious disease that could spread from the individual through society in *Lo llibre de les dones,* translated into Castilian in 1452. P. Delaunay, *La médecine et l'eglise* (Paris: Editions Hippocrate, 1948), 10; F. Eiximenis, *Lo llibre de les dones* (Barcelona: Curial Edicions Catalanes, 1981), 339; C. Wittlin, "Introducció," in *Lo llibre de les dones*, ed. F. Naccarato, (Barcelona: Curial Ediciones Catalanes, 1981), xxxv.

Due to the War of Succession between Isabel and Juana, the queen continued this characterization of the previous monarch through commissioned chronicles that emphasized Enrique's immoral character.[86] Alfonso of Palencia in particular, in his *Chonica de Enrique IV,* denigrates Enrique as a sodomite whose perverse appetites allowed Juana of Portugal, his wife, space to explore her own carnal desires with the king's favorite.[87] Hernando del Pulgar attributes Enrique's homosexuality to an exposure to pleasure during adolescence that he was unable to resist due to his immaturity.[88] Similar explanations appear in the chronicles of Diego de Valera and Juan de Flores. Enrique's behavior was also conjured through forms of historical propaganda beyond the traditional chronicle.[89] For example, the poem *Laberinto de Fortuna* describes the origin myth of the Trastamaran dynasty as resulting from the effeminate and Moorish excesses of King Pedro I (1350-1379).[90] Pedro was

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[86] Isabel not only commissioned new chronicles, but also ordered the revision of existing chronicles to justify her assumption to the throne. Such is the case with Enríquez del Castillo's *Crónica del rey don Enrique el Cuarto* which survives in multiple versions. G. Avenoza, "Un nuevo manuscrito de las *Generaciones y semblanzas:* la *Crónica de Enrique IV* y la propaganda isabelina," *Anuario medieval* 3 (1991): 7-22.

[87] A. d. Palencia, *Cronica de Enrique IV*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1973-1975), 1: 11-12. Discussed in Weissberger, *Isabel Rules*, 72-95; Weissberger, "'A tierra, puto!' Alfonso de Palencia's Discourse on Effeminacy," 294-296.

[88] Pulgar, *Cronica de los senores Reyes Catolicos*, 5.

[89] Jaime Vicens Vives suggests that Isabel went so far as to forge documents, including the Pact of Toros de Guisando. J. Vicens Vives, *Historia crítica de Fernando II de Aragón* (Zaragoza: Diputación Provincial, 1962), 209-243, 282-287.

[90] The legend also appears in *Compendiosa Historia Hispanica* by Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo composed c. 1470. Alfonso de Palencia constructs what Weissberger characterizes as a

eventually murdered by his bastard half-brother Enrique II, the great-grandfather of Juan II, who wed the widowed queen. The description of Pedro I as an immoral king who is justly cast aside places the more contemporary Enrique IV in a history of wicked *mudejar* rulers who pollute the body politic with their own excessive opulence, sexual appetites, and inability to control the base desires of the court females.[91] The success of Isabel's smear campaign against her half-brother and his daughter is perhaps best revealed through the continual usage of the epithets Enrique "el impotente" and Juana "la Beltraneja," or "little-Beltran," by historians over five-hundred years later.

This propaganda campaign with its construction of the effeminate evil king was problematic as it had the potential to hinder Isabel's ability to rule due to her own female gender.[92] However, the queen shrewdly cast herself as the

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"genealogy of sodomy and illegitimacy" from Pedro I and Enrique II, through Juan II, to Enrique IV and then rectified by Isabel. Palencia, *Cronica de Enrique IV*, 1: 9; Weissberger, "'A tierra, puto!' Alfonso de Palencia's Discourse on Effeminacy," 302-303.

[91] Weissberger, *Isabel Rules*, 16-27. The succession of immoral Castilian kings stretches back even further to the eight century. According to legend, the initial Muslim conquest of Iberia resulted from the sexual extravagance of the last Visigothic ruler, King Rodrigo. The r*econquista,* therefore, was from the outset a battle between Christian chastity and Muslim indulgence. Isabel's chroniclers presented the queen as restoring the initial purity of the Castilian political body. This sentiment is expressed by Antonio de Nebrija when he wrote "Hispania tota sibi restituta est." Quoted in R. B. Tate, *Ensayos sobre la historiografía peninsular del siglo XV*, trans. J. Díaz (Madrid: Gredos, 1970), 296.

[92] Feminist queer theorists have posited that homophobia and misogyny are linked in their construction of the homosocial patriarchy. For example, see E. K. Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosexual Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985). Therefore, the construction of the increased appetite of the effeminate homosexual lies in tandem with medieval belief in the largess of female sexual appetites. J. Ruiz, *Book of Good Love*,

embodiment of the female virtues of the dutiful daughter and the legitimate collateral heir of Juan II, deftly bypassing Enrique IV and his descendent in the line of succession.[93] Isabel was supported in this propaganda campaign by her advisors who composed treatises on rulership in order to assist the young monarch in her transition from princess to queen.[94] Iñigo de Mendoza, one of Isabel's closest advisors and author of the trilogy of political poems written for Isabel and Fernando during the war of succession including *Dechado a la muy escelente Reina Doña Isabel,* encouraged Isabel to take up the sword of kingly justice in order to curb the behavior of contemporary Castilians.[95] The emphasis on the masculine attribute of the sword in the hands of the female ruler substantiates the account of Isabel's utilization of a weapon during her coronation ceremony.[96]

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trans. S. Daly (University Park, PN: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1978); E. Braidotti, "El erotismo en el Libro de buen amor," *Kentucky Romance Quarterly* 30 (1983): 133-140; J. K. Walsh, "Ruan Ruiz and the *Mester de Clerezía*: Lost Context and lost Parody in the *Libro de buen amor*," *Romance Philology* 33 (1979): 62-86; D. Eisenberg, "Juan ruiz's Heterosexual "Good Love"," in *Queer Iberia: Sexualities, Cultures, and Crossings form the Middle Ages to the Renaissance*, ed. J. Blackmore and G. S. Hutcheson, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 250-275.

[93] E. Lehfeldt, "Ruling Sexuality: The Political Legitimacy of Isabel of Castile," *Renaissance Quarterly* 53 (2000): 34, 44-54; Liss, *Isabel the Queen*, 236-263; M. Shadis, "Women, Gender, and Rulership in Romance Europe: The Iberian Case," *History Compass* 4 (2006): 1-3.

[94] For analysis of these texts see Lehfeldt, "Ruling Sexuality," 35-44; Weissberger, *Isabel Rules*, 28-44; Guardiola-Griffiths, *Legitimizing the Queen*, 23.

[95] I. d. Mendoza, *Cancionero* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1968), 283.

[96] A competing stratagem was the rhetorical masculinization of Isabel in texts, such as the *Crónica incomplete.* J. d. Flores, *Crónica incompleta de los Reyes Católicos, 1469-1476* (Madrid: Tipografia de Archivos, 1934), 208; Weissberger, "'A tierra, puto!' Alfonso de Palencia's Discourse on Effeminacy," 303-305.

The contrast between Isabel as the "good" female and Juana as "bad" rectified the Castilian body politic that had been corrupted through non-Castilian female meddling.[97] The Castilian chroniclers, in their efforts to aggrandize the Trastamara line, wrote scathingly of the outside influences of foreign queens including María de Molina, María of Portugal, and Isabel's grandmother Catherine of Lancaster.[98] These criticques culminated in descriptions of the wayward behavior of Enrique's wife Juana of Portugal.[99] Isabel leaked accounts of her own mistreatment at the hands of her sister-in-law during her childhood spent at court. She also described the behavior of the foreign-born queen as so licentious that her brother Alfonso forbade Isabel to interact with Juana in order to guard the purity of her heart.[100] The circulation

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[97] Similarly, Fernando of Aragon as Isabel's choice for husband was represented as pro-Hispania in contrast to Enrique IV's expressed desires for a foreign political alliance. de Azcona, *Isabel la Católica: Estudio critic*, 106-107.

[98] T. Ruiz, "Unsacred Monarchy: The Kings of Castile in the Late Middle Ages," in *Rites of Power: Symbolism, Ritual and Politics Since the Middle Ages*, ed. S. Wilentz, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 109-144; C. Estow, "Widows in the Chronicles of Late Medieval Castile," in *Upon My Husband's Death: Widows in the Litterature and Histories of Medieval Europe*, ed. L. Mirrer, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 153-167.

[99] Palencia, *Cronica de Enrique IV*, I: 194. The issue of Portugese influence on the Castilian court, and Iberian culture more broadly, is extremely complex and beyond the scope of this project. However, it should be noted that Isabel was raised by her Portuguese mother and grandmother. In the Treaty of Alcáçovas ending the War of Succession, Isabel agreed to marry her daughter, Isabel, princess of Asturias to the Portuguese heir Dom Afonso. Isabel also included Portuguese entertainments at her court, including dancers. M. Fernández Alvarez, *Isabel la Católica* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 2003), 23-24; W. Philips, "Isabel of Castile's Portuguese Connections and the Opening of the Atlantic," in *Isabel of Castile: Power, Patronage, Persona*, ed. B. F. Weissberger, (Woodbridge, U.K.: Tamesis, 2008), 19-28.

[100] R. A. d. l. Historia, ed. *Memorias de Don Enrique IV de Castilla, Colección Diplomatica de Enrique IV* (Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico de Fortanet, 1835-1913), 638.

of stories such as these early in Isabel's reign created a strong dichotomy between her own moral superiority over the waywardness of the previous rule.

The culmination of this propaganda campaign ws the presentation of Isabel as the rightful heir of Castile due to her position as a morally superior daughter of the king. Juan de Flandes's copy of the *Miraflores Altarpiece* provided tangible evidence of Isabel's legitimacy. Due to the association of the object with Juan II, the copy emphasized Isabel's position in the Trastámara dynasty. The fifteenth-century viewers who had access to the queen's private devotional space, family members, courtiers, and visiting dignitaries, would have certainly been aware of the status of the object as a copy due to the regular installation of the court at Burgos. The copy's very existence and presentation would have served as a reminder of dynastic concerns. Moreover, the subject matter of the triptych had the additional benefit of communicating this message in a Christianized context. Unlike a portrait of Juan II, the copy of his devotional aid casts Isabel as the duitiful daughter equipped with the moral fortituted necessary for good governance. It implies that she is a devout alternative to Enrique IV who was corrupted by his foreign wife and whose wayward behavior exteneded to his daughter and heir.

Traditional Castilian Kingship

Another way in which the *Miraflores* triptych served Isabel's legitimiation campaign was through its association with a royal site deep in the heart of Old Castile. In addition to emphasizing her superior morality, the queen wrapped herself in the traditions, associations, and loyalties of her dynasty and kingdom. After the decisive victory over the king of Portugal and Juana la Beltraneja at the Battle of Toro in March of 1476, Isabel and Fernando vowed to found a monastic church in the traditional Castilian capital of Toledo.[101] In the year, Isabel organized an elaborate triumphal entry for Fernando and herself. The monarchs entered through the *Puerta de Visagre*, or Moorish gate, dressed in elaborate brocades decorated with the insignias of the Castle and the Lion trimmed in ermine. Isabel and Fernando placed war trophies, including the torn Portuguese standard, over the tomb of their Trastamara ancestor Juan I. The queen and king then fulfilled their vow by laying the first foundation stone for a monastery dedicated to the two St. Johns,

[101] de Azcona, *Isabel la Católica: Estudio critic*, 249. The city of Toledo had been an important municipality on the Iberian Peninsula since the Roman Empire. During the Visogothic era, the city was named the capital of the kingdom and it maintained its prominence under the Umayyad caliphate and later *taifa* kingdom. After Toledo was recaptured by the Christian king Alfonso VI in 1085, the city was reinstated as the political capital of Castile. Pope Victor II issued a papal bull recognizing the Toledan diocese as the *primates* of the kingdom. The cathedral of Toledo became the spiritual heart of Castile and seat of the Spanish archbishop. For a more detailed overview of the history of medieval Spain including the prominent socio-political role of Toledo, see J. F. O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1975).

San Juan de los Reyes (fig. 20).[102] The resulting structure, designed by Juan Guas, mixes together gothic, classical, and mozarabic elements in its decorative program. These stylistic symbols of cultural diversity were then subjugated to those of the monarchy by the dominant placement of royal insignia and personal emblems of Isabel and Fernando on every conceivable surface (fig. 21).

Isabel quickly recognized the ability of site-specific patronage to facilitate a concrete link between herself and the "good" kings of Castile's history.[103] She set out to forge such a tie with her father Juan II by rebuilding and refurnishing the monastery of Miraflores, which had suffered a terrible fire in 1452.[104] Isabel

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[102] Pulgar, *Cronica de los senores Reyes Catolicos*, 118-120.

[103] Isabel also sponsored the creation of a fictional genealogy by the Italian Dominican Annius of Viterbo. The genealogy, based upon a thirteenth-century example by Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, demonstrated that the Catholic Kings were descended from Tubal, the legendary first ruler of Iberia and grandson of Noah. R. Tate, "Mythology in Spanish Historiography of the Middle Ages and Renaissance," *Hispanic Review* 22 (1954): 12-13; A. Castro, *La realidad histórica de España* (Mexico: Porrúa, 1966), 3-4.

[104] It should be noted that Isabel's celebration of Juan II does not coincide with the realities of his reign. Isabel's father was a relatively ineffective ruler, who had difficulties balancing his own interests with the increasing demands of the nobility. Much like Enrique IV, Juan II was accused of preferring entertainment to the challenges of ruling, engaging in homosexual relations, and allowing his "favorite" Alvaro de Luna inappropriate access to kingly power. On the reign of Juan II, seeA. Castellanos, *Crónica de don Álvaro de Luna* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1940); D. C. Rosell, ed. *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla, desde don Alfonso el Sabio, hasta los Católicos don Fernando y doña Isabel*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1953); F. Pérez de Guzmán, *Generacinoes y semblazas* (London: Tamesis Books, 1965); L. Suárez Fernández, *Nobleza y monarquía: puntos de vista sobre la historia política castellano del siglo XV* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1975); G. S. Hutcheson, "Desperately Seeking Sodom: Queerness in the Chronicles of Alvaro de Luna," in *Queer Iberia: Sexualities, Cultures, and Crossings from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance*, ed. J. Blackmore and G. S. Hutcheson, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 222-249. Unlike Enrique IV's Beltrán, de Luna functioned as the strong arm of the king's rule. De Luna's enemies enumerated his crimes in the *memorial de agravios,* where his status as an *estrangero* due to his *converso* family history was presented as evidence for his

initiated an extensive patronage campaign at Miraflores including new choir stalls, funerary sculptures (fig. 22-23), and the massive polychromed *retablo mayor* by Gil de Siloé (fig. 24).[105]

Dynastic glorification went hand in hand with proto-nationalistic concerns. The speciric iconography presents a uniquely Iberian hagiography. The collection of saints include the patron saint of all of Spain Santiago, the pilgrimage saint Juan de Ortega, the Valencian preacher Vincent Ferrer, Dominican founder Thomas Aquinas, and the local Burgos saint Dominic of Guzman. In this heavenly company, figures of Juan II and Isabel of Portugal kneel at *prie-dieus* accompanied by statues of their personal patron saints (fig. 25). In the spaces immediately above the monarchs, vegetation sprouts to

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pollution of the body politic. L. d. Barrientos, *Refundición de la crónica del halconero* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1946), cviii-cxii; Hutcheson, "Desperately Seeking Sodom," 225-226. Eventually, de Luna was beheaded. O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, 564-566; Suárez Fernández, *Nobleza y monarquía*, 564-566; N. G. Round, *The Greatest Man Uncrowned: A Study of the Fall of Don Alvaro de Luna* (London: Tamesis Books Unlimited, 1986). Although much of the expressed outrage was directed toward de Luna, with Juan II implicated in the negative space of the *memorial de agravios,* the unofficial *Crónica del halconero de Juan II* explicitly stated the king was engaged bodily and spiritually with de Luna though as the passive recipient resulting from black magic. Carrillo de Heute, *Crónica del halconero de Juan II*, 332-333. De Luna was posthumously pardoned by Isabel, who sanctioned the construction of the de Luna chapel in Toledo cathedral. By reinstating the king's favorite as an esteemed advisor, Isabel recast Juan II as a successful ruler, aggrandized and mystified her Trastamera roots, and established her position as sole ruler of Castile. Isabel also paid homage to her mother, Isabel of Portugal, at Miraflores. She specifically ordered the purchasing of ornaments for her tomb. Ros-Fábregas, "Melodies of Private Devotion at the Court of Isabel," in *Queen Isabel I of Castile: Power, Patronage, Persona*, ed. B. F. Weissberger, (New York: Tamesis, 2008), 84.

[105] Kroesen, *Staging the Liturgy*, 124-125. The use of a circular organization did not have a large impact on the broader *retablo* tradition. The altarpiece did, however, have a local impact and acted as a model for commissions including the *retablo mayor* of San Nicholás in Burgos.

support two angels who hold the individual coats of arms. While the appearance of the heraldry of the patron is not uncommon in private *retablo* projects, its incorporation into a foliage-based motif is reminscent of genealogical visual organizations such as the tree of Jesse (fig. 26). The placement of the familial insignia in this context subtly evokes Juan II's direct descendants, specifically Isabel.

The Castilian queen also sought to further connect herself with Juan II through personal devotion to his patron saints John the Baptist and John the Evangelist. Isabel claimed the Saints John as central to her own devotional practices. Her funerary chapel in Granada was dedicated to them, as was San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo. Isabel also attempted to cultivate devotion to St. John the Evangelist among her subjects, sending letters to the papacy requesting additional indulgences be given for those who observed his feast day.[106]

Just as Isabel's position of patron at Miraflores became an articulation of her role as dutiful daughter, the decision to have her court artist copy an object so closely associated with Juan II and this site created a portable artifact tinged with both the physical space of the monastery and the associated emotions as

[106] L. Suárez Fernández, *Política internacional de Isabel la Católica*, 2 vols. (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1965-1969), 1: 421, 426-427.

the resting place of Isabel's immediate family. Like a contact relic, Juan de Flandes' copy of the *Miraflores Altarpiece* created a transient locus for mnemonic and spiritual connection with a distant place as Isabel traveled across the Iberian Peninsula with her court. Nor was the painting inconsistent with Isabel's broader aesthetic program. In fact, Isabel's interest in Franco-Flemish visual culture can also be viewed as the continuation of the desires of her father, who was himself a collector of Flemish tapestries, Franco-Flemish manuscripts, and Flemish-styled panel painting. As an example of Flemish art, the *Miraflores Altarpiece* coincided with Isabel's established tastes as well as her father's aesthetics, further connecting the two monarchs on a personal level. Isabel's interest in importing Northern European objects and court traditions can therefore also be viewed as a legitimizing device that placed the queen in the broader context of proper Castilian royal behavior.

Isabel as Queen Regnant

By casting herself as her father's direct successer through actions such as the commissioning of the *Miraflores copy,* Isabel cultivated continuity between previous Castilian heads of state and herself. The emphasis upon ghte father-daughter relationship not only asserted the queen's position vis-à-vis Juan la Beltraneja, but also emphasized the queen regnant as the singular source of

political power. Though not explicitly outlawed as in the kingdom of Aragon, the kingdom of Castile did not have a lengthy tradition of queens ruling in their own right. Many of Isabel's advisors assumed she would abdicate primary rulership to her husband and subjugate herself to the domestic role of queen-consort.[107] Instead, Isabel was markedly determined to maintain her controle of the Castilian state. She was able to assert her authority through the invocation of previous queen regnants: Sancha in the eleventh century, Urracca in the twelfth century, and Berenguela in the thirteenth century. Isabel was likely aware of these precidents as her chronicler Pulgar inludes a lengthy list of Castilian queens regent and queens regnant in his discussion of Isabel's coronation.[108] Unlike Isabel, these three queens did not rule independently in their own names but as regents on behalf of their young sons. Sancha and Berenguela were originally queen-consorts to deceased kings, and therefore provided limited models for Isabel beyond their precedence. Urraca, however, was herself necessary for the line of succession. As the eldest legitimate child of Alfonso VI, the kingdom passed through her to her young son Alfonso VII. Even after her marriage to Alfonso I of Aragon, Urraca continued to serve as

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[107] P. M. d'Anghiera, *Epistolario*, trans. J. L. d. Toro, 4 vols. (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1953-1957), 1: 10; Guardiola-Griffiths, *Legitimizing the Queen*, 61; de Azcona, *Isabel la Católica: Estudio critic*, 243.

[108] Pulgar, *Cronica de los senores Reyes Catolicos*, 34-35. Pulgar likely compiled the list from the many chronicles in the royal collection. Liss, *Isabel the Queen*, 114.

the ruler of Castile, refusing to abdigate controle. Her role in the translation of Castilian lands through the generations is best indicated in her continued status as head of the state even after the dissolution of her marriage with Alfonso I. Her status was not predicated on her position relative to her husband, but on her own dynastic legitimacy. Like Isabel, Urraca defined her place on the throne in relation to her father instead of her husband and both flouted female stereotypes by taking an active military role in the *reconquista*.[109]

Even as early as the marriage negotiations with Fernando, Isabel argued that she alone was qualified to reign over Castile. In the marriage agreement known as the Concordia de Segovia, Isabel maintained Castilian prerogatives by insisting on her own proprietary rights to Castile, which could only pass to her firstborn offspring.[110] Under no condition was Castile to pass to Fernando or to any children conceived in a subsequent marriage after Isabel's death. After Isabel's demise, her daughter Juana and her husband Philip were

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[109]. For more on Uracca and Isabel's comparison to the medieval queen, see B. F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of Léon Castile Under Queen Urraca 1109-1126* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982); Lehfeldt, "Ruling Sexuality," 35-44; M. I. d. Val Valdivieso, "Isabel, Infanta and Princess of Castile," in *Isabel la Católica, Queen of Castile: Critical Essays*, ed. D. Boruchoff, (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003), 42-45; Weissberger, *Isabel Rules*, 28-44; T. Martin, *Queen as King: Politics and Architectural Propaganda in Twelfth-Century Spain* (Brill, 2006).

[110] The need for Isabel to argue on behalf of her legitimate heir was necessitated by Fernando's already public acknowledgment of illegitimate children conceived before his marriage to Isabel.

crowned king and queen of Castile.[111] The original condition in the Concordia de Segovia became problematic in 1506, when Philip's death excluded Fernando from the governance of Castile even though Juana was unfit to rule. A faction of the Castilian *grandées* pleaded with Fernando to return.[112] He eventually agreed, and served as regent on behalf of Juana's son, the future Charles V.[113]

While these future events were unknown to the queen in the early days of her marriage, Isabel felt it necessary to cement her position during her coronation.[114] On December 13, 1474, only thirty-six hours after the death of

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[111] Castile and Aragon would theoretically have been reunited with the Aragonese empire upon Fernando's death.

[112] P. d. Sandoval, *Historia de la vida y hechos del emperador Carlos V*, 3 vols., *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1955-1956), 1: 30; V. Fernández Vargas, *Juan Maldonado: la revolución comunera, El movimiento de España, o sea historia de la revolución conocida con el nombre de la comunidades de Castilla* (Madrid: Ediciones del Centro, 1975), 41.

[113] Anti-Flemish, anti-imperialist, and anti-Aragonese sentiment continued among a formidable Castilian segment and resulted in the *comunero* revolt of 1520-1521. J. F. Perez, "Tradición e innovación en las Comunidades de Castilla," in *Toledo renacentista: V simposia (Toledo, 24-26 Abril 1975)* (Toledo: Centro Universitario de Toledo, 1980), 55-120; S. Haliczer, *The Comuneros of Castile: the forging of a revolution, 1475-1521* (Madison, Wi: University of Wisconsin Press, 1981); J. F. Perez, *Los Comuneros* (Madrid: La Esfera de los Libros, S.L., 2001). Interestingly, similar emotions surfaced in Aragon with the marriage of Fernando to Isabel being referred to by later Aragonese writers as the beginning of the end of Aragonese liberty. V. Blasco de Lanuza, *Historias ecclesiásticas y seculares de Aragón* (Saragossa: Juan de Lanaia y Quartanet, 1622), 89; L. Leonardo de Argensola, *Obras sueltas de Lupercio y Bartolomé Leonardo de Angersola*, 2 vols., *Colección Escritores Castellanos* (Madrid: Impresor de Cámara de S.M., 1889), I: 365-371.

[114] Recent scholarship has questioned whether or not the much repeated account of the Queen's coronation is accurate. See A. I. Carrasco Manchado, *Isabel I de Castilla y la sombra de la ilegitimidad: propaganda y representación en el conflicto sucesorio (1474-1482)* (Madrid: Sílex, 2006), 23-37. Whether the events actually occurred as reported in the chronicles or were instead embellished in the written record, the descriptions were circulated during Isabel's rule and would have been the context in which most Castilians understood the political ritual. Even as a function of historical propaganda the coronation would have been a shocking statement of

Enrique IV, the new queen of Castile processed through the city of Segovia dressed in a costly gown emblazoned with the heraldry of the kingdom and glittering with the jewels. She was preceded in the procession by an unsheathed sword, the ultimate symbol of masculine royal power. Once the procession reached the *plaza mayor,* Isabel ascended a hastily constructed platform in the center of the square and was seated upon a throne. Suddenly, trumpets and horns pierced the air, bells were rung, cannons were fired, banners were unfurled, and a herald's voice called "Castile, Castile, for the queen and our proprietress the Queen Doña Isabel, and for the King Don Fernando, her legitimate husband."[115] The archbishop of Toledo Alfonso Carrillo then placed a silver crown upon Isabel's head.

Fernando, who was busy overseeing the Aragonese *Cortes* in Zaragoza, was distressed upon learning of the coronation made in his absence. Particularly vexing was the fact that although he was named king of Castile and Leon, he was the king-consort subservient to Isabel whose unsheathed sword symbolized her position as the highest sovereign authority. Fernando requested of Alfonso of Palencia, who had traveled with him, "tell me if there is any precedent in antiquity of a queen who has herself preceded by that symbol

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queenly power. E. M. Gerli, "Performing Nobility: Mosén Diego de Valera and the Poetics of *Converso* Identity," *La Corónica* 25 (1996): 19-36.

[115] T. de Azcona, *Isabel la Católica: vida y reinado* (Madrid: La Esfera, 2002), 244.

of the threat of punishment for her vassals."[116] Nor was he alone in his unease. Alfonso also recorded his own opinion on the matter stating that she was "after all a woman. . . who despite her arrogance and haughtiness would need a man to provide military might."[117] The description of Isabel as arrogant and haughty in a work paid for by the queen suggests the extremity with which Isabel's actions contrasted with contemporary sensibilities.[118] And yet Iñigo de Mendoza encouraged Isabel to take up the sword of kingly justice in order to curb the behavior of contemporary Castilians.[119] The emphasis on the masculine attribute of the sword in the hands of the female ruler substantiates Isabel's utilization of a weapon during her coronation ceremony.[120]

Isabel then continued to flout traditional gender roles during the war of Granada. Strong warrior kings such as Fernando II had redefined the Spanish crusade as a Castilian royal prerogative, and participation in the campaign was

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[116] Palencia, *Cronica de Enrique IV*, 2: 162.
[117] Ibid., 2: 160.
[118] Barbara Weissberger argues that the literature of the Isabelline period exemplifies Isabel's exceptionalism even while upholding the traditional patriarchal system. Though upon her death the kingdom of Castile momentarily passed through her daughter Juana, it was three-hundred years before another strong queen ruled Castile in her own name. Weissberger, *Isabel Rules*, 4.
[119] Mendoza, *Cancionero*, 283.
[120] The social anxiety over a female monarch who appropriated the patriarchal norms in order to assert her own political power led to the creation of carnivalesque works such as the *Caraji comedia,* which satires Isabel's sanctioning of prostitution among the royal armies during the *reconquista* even as she presented herself as the embodiment of female purity engaging in the most holy act of crusade. Weissberger, *Isabel Rules*, xv.

an essential component of kingship.[121] Competency to rule was measured by each monarch's domination over his Islamic counterparts.[122] Isabel promoted her position as sole ruler of Castile by playing upon the renewed crusading fervor of the Iberian elite that appeared after her marriage to Fernando.[123] The chroniclers Fernando de Pulgar, Alfonso de Palencia, and Diego de Valera all describe the war as a shared act of the two sovereigns, with Isabel acting as an assertive figure without whom the war could not have succeeded.[124]

While not included in the formulation of battlefield strategy, Isabel was actively involved in the planning, execution, and success of the War of Granada.[125] She asserted her position early in the campaign when in 1482 the Grenadine caliph sought to retake Alhama, the first city conquered by Isabel and Fernando. The royal advisors recommended vacating the town due to the high costs required to retain the craggy and strategically disadvantaged site.

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[121] Juan de Mena presents the recapturing of Muslim lands as essential to the reconquering of the Spanish body politic, a call to combatting both internal and external others. J. d. Mena, *Laberinto de Fortuna*, 2nd ed.(Madrid: Cátedra, 1982), 253-257. Although written seven years before Isabel's birth and long before the conquest of Granada was finalized, Mena articulates the fifteenth-century political frustration that allowed for the construction of Isabel's queenship.
[122] Guardiola-Griffiths, *Legitimizing the Queen*, 84.
[123] Palencia, *Cronica de Enrique IV*, 373.
[124] Liss, *Isabel the Queen*, 216; E. Lehfeldt, "The Queen at War," in *Queen Isabel I of Castile: Power, Patronage, Persona*, ed. B. F. Weissberger, (New York: Tamesis, 2008), 108-122.
[125] Isabel's advisor Cardinal Mendoza was actively involved in the *reconquista,* serving as Isabel's proxy-general alongside king Fernando in the conquest of Córdoba in 1485, Malaga in 1487, and Granada in 1492. See Pedro Mártir's letter to the Count of Tendilla in, d'Anghiera, *Epistolario*, 200, no. 108.

Isabel remained firm in her conviction that Alhama must not be abandoned stating:

> it is well known that all wars require high costs and hard work, and this was carefully considered before the king and I decided to continue the conquest against the king of Granada; and as this city was the first that was won, it is understood that it is impossible to consider vacating it.[126]

Isabel was successful in persuading the military leaders, and Fernando immediately marched for Alhama. The king took possession of the city and repelled the Muslim assault in a bloodless victory.

The queen continued to be a force throughout the campaign. Juan de Lucena in the *Epístola exhortatoria a las letras* celebrates the military actions of his sovereign queen as "pitching our camps, leading our battles, breaching our sieges. . . Oh heart of a man dressed as a woman, epitome of queens, model for all women, and for all men a subject to write about."[127] Isabel oversaw all the preparations and supply chains, organized the funds needed to cover expenses, and personally tended the wounded from the battlefield. By 1484, the military force totaled twelve thousand cavalry and six thousand infantrymen requiring scores of heavy guns and cannons, mule trains loaded with sacks of flour, preserved meat and fish, wineskins, and a great number of carts of timbers,

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[126] Pulgar, *Cronica de los senores Reyes Catolicos*, 187-188.
[127] J. d. Lucena, *Epístola exhoratoria a las letras* (Madrid: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Literarios, 1892), 216. Cited in Weissberger, *Isabel Rules*, 83.

irons, and stones for the construction of war machines.[128] Isabel even went so far as to wear a full suite of armor while riding a warhorse when inspecting the army.[129]

Her involvement in the *reconquista* allowed Isabel to cultivate a reputation among both the Christian army and that of theer enemy. When the warden of the city of Purchena, Alí Abenfa-har, approached Isabel and Fernando in order to hand over his domain to the Christian forces he proclaimed "I, a Moor descended from Moors, come here to you, oh my royal lady, to offer my castle… I believe death would be the price I would receive defending the fortress."[130] Pulgar's account claims that though Alí is concerned about his fate should he engage Fernando in battle, it is to Isabel that he hands control of the land and people. This narrative is depicted visually in the choir stalls of Toledo cathedral where Alí is depicted handing the keys of the city over to Isabel (fig. 27).[131]

Isabel's presentation of herself as the rightful heir to her father Juan II provided additional support to the queen's resistance in submitting to the role

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[128] Pulgar, *Cronica de los senores Reyes Catolicos*, 242.
[129] Isabel attempted to institutionalize her position in the *reconquista* effort when in 1486 she petitioned the pope to be granted perpetual administration of the Spanish military orders. de Azcona, *Isabel la Católica: Estudio critic*, 728.
[130] Pulgar, *Cronica de los senores Reyes Catolicos*, 502.
[131] This is the only scene in the Grenadine cycle where Isabel appears independent from either Fernando or Cardinal Mendoza.

of queen-consort. The legitimization campaign that propagandized Isabel's position as heir to the Castilian throne would also have placed the queen as the true embodiment of the monarchy. As ruler in her own right, Isabel then presented her marriage to Fernando as the joining of two equals instead of the traditional domestic understanding of the woman submitting to her husband. This attitude was articulated in Isabel's commissioned texts. In 1488 the royal chaplain Pietro Martire d'Anghiera described the monarchs as two separate and mortal bodies animated by the same spirit and mind.[132] This relationship was invoked more succinctly with the utilization of the motto "Tanto Monta, Monta Tanto" or "One is Equal to the Other," placing the ideas of equality at the very center of the joint monarchy. Isabel and Fernando disseminated this idea by placing "Tanto Monta" on coins, documents, and architectural ornamentation.[133] The monarchs also expressed this equality visually in their choice of emblems. In the tradition of courtly love, Isabel and Fernando chose symbols based upon the first letter of their love's name: Isabel the *fleches*, or

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[132] d'Anghiera, *Epistolario*, 1: 10. For an analysis of queenship in kingship, see J. F. O'Callaghan, "The Many Faces of the Medieval Queen," in *Queenship and Political Power in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, ed. T. Earenfight, (Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate, 2005), 21-32; Guardiola-Griffiths, *Legitimizing the Queen*, 49; T. Earenfight, "Two Bodies, One Spirit: Isabel and Fernando's Construction of Monarchial Partnership," in *Queen Isabel I of Castile: Power, Patronage, Persona*, ed. B. F. Weissberger, (New York: Tamesis, 2008), 3-18.

[133] J.-A. González Iglesias, "El humanista y los príncipes: Antonio de Nebrija, inventor de las empresas heráldicas de los Reyes Católicos," in *Antonio de Nebrija: Edad media y renacimiento*, ed. C. Carmen Codoñer and J. A. González-Iglesias, (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1994), 59-76.

arrows, and Fernando the *jugo* or yoke with the Gordian knot. Fernando had already utilized the yoke as king of Sicily, symbolizing resoluteness, royal might, and territorial expansion through the invocation of the myth of Alexander the Great and the Gordian knot. After his marriage to Isabel, the symbolism was recast into terms of political equality through the invocation of "cónyuge" or spouse.[134] The translation of the yoke into terms of political equality was perpetuated by Iñigo Mendoza in his sermons.[135]

Isabel's diligence in protecting her own monarchical identity allowed her to safeguard Castilian prerogatives.[136] As opposed to Castile falling under the control of Aragon, the two kingdoms became knitted together.[137] For example, the new law codes developed by Isabel and Fernando were a hybridization of the two traditions.[138] Moreover the combined Castilian-Aragonese might allowed for the successful conquest of Granada and the *reconquista* in 1492,

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[134] Weissberger, *Isabel Rules*, 44-68.
[135] See for example, the *Sermón trobado* of 1475. Mendoza, *Cancionero*, 315.
[136] Isabel was so protective of her equivalent position to Fernando in the fabrication of regal history that she criticized Hernando de Pulgar for crediting a certain deed to her husband when it should have been instead attributed to both of them equally. Pulgar seems to have remembered this as he later described how when the time arrived, their majesties gave birth. This account first appears in a sixteenth-century anthology *Floresta espanola.* F. Asensio, *Floresta española*, *Floresta general* (Madrid: V. Suárez, 1910-1911), 206.
[137] Isabel and Fernando expressed the desire for the kingdoms to overcome regional unease and do business together. M. Danvila y Collado, *Córtes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla*, 5 vols., *Publicadas por la Real Academia de la Historia* (Madrid: Impr. y estereotípia de M. Rivadeneyra, 1861-1903), 4: 185.
[138] Earenfight, "Two Bodies, One Spirit," 4-5.

leading to the cultivation of a unified nation-state hinged upon an exclusively Christian national identity.[139]

Flemish Aesthetics as a Castilian Tradition

Isabel's invocation of Juan II through the creation of a copy of the *Miraflores Altarpiece* not only symbolized the connection between the queen and her father but placed the queen's aesthetics in a broader Castilian tradition. While the desire for Franco-Flemish visual culture reached a fevered pitch under the Catholic Queen, Isabel's importation of artistic styles from Northern Europe might also be understood as a specifically Castilian strategy.[140] The two monarchs upon whom Isabel modeled her rule after, Juan II and the eleventh-century Urraca, both articulated their political allegiance to Northern Europe

[139] Isabel's relationship to the Jewish and Muslim populations of Castile will be addressed in chapter 5.

[140] The adoption and manipulation of external regional styles was a hallmark of Iberian aesthetics. The *mudéjar* style influenced by the Islamic art of Al-Andalus, the Italo-Gothic style based on northern Italian models, and the French Gothic style were all utilized in medieval and Renaissance Spanish art. The strong reliance on foreign visual language problematized the ability of twentieth-century art historians to define a unique Spanish aesthetic. Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz argued that Spain's unique architectural "temperament" of geometric relationships existed in differing decorative styles. C. Sánchez-Albornoz, *España: Un enigma histórico* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1956). See also H. Lapeyre, "Deux interpretations de l'histoire d'Espagne: Américo Castro et Claudio Sánchez Albornoz," *Annales*, 5 (1965): 1015-1037; P. E. Russell, "The Nessus-Shirt of Spanish History," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 36 (1959): 219-225; J. L. Martín, "El occidente español en la alta edad media según los trabajos de Sánchez-Albornoz," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 4 (1967): 599-611; T. Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 5-13; M. M. Mateo-Sevilla, "The Form of Race: Architecture and "Casta" in Modern Spain" (paper presented at the College Art Association 101st Annual Conference, New York, 2013).

through the public consumption of Franco-Flemish objects. Therefore Isabel's participation in this self-fashioning tactic emphasizes her position as true Castilian heir.

Juan II's donation of the *Miraflores Altarpiece* was only one example of his interest in Northern European aesthetics and culture.[141] Nor was Juan II alone among the Castilian kings in his cultural relationship with Northern Europe. Since the twelfth century, Castile had been in near constant cultural contact with France. The intermarriage of royal and noble houses supported the importation of cultural products and culture-makers.[142] When Isabel ascended the throne, the Alcazar in Seville was already filled with luxurious tapestries, panel paintings, and other Flemish luxury goods accumulated by her immediate predecessors. Isabel's female model Queen Urraca was wed to Raymund of Burgundy in the eleventh century. Urraca then utilized her ties

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[141] For example songs in Frenchwere common at his court. These songs are discussed by Díaz de Gámaz, who described the entertainments made on behalf of the Castilian entourage by the French Admiral Renaud de Trie near Rouen in 1435. See G. Díaz de Games, *El Victorial*, *Textos Recuperados* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1997), 552-553.

[142] Queen Constance, the French wife of Alfonso VI, was pivotal in encouraging the king in the *reconquista,* including the conquering of Toledo. V. Cantarino, *Entre monjes y musulmanes: el conflicto que fue España* (Madrid: Alhambra, 1978); H. S. Martínez, "Alfonso VI, Hero is Search of a Poet," *La corónica* 15 (1986): 1-16; C. Palencia, "Historia y leyenda de las mujeres de Alfonso VI," in *Estudios sobre Alfonso VI y la reconquista de Toledo. Actas del II Congreso Internacional de Estudios Mozárabes (Toledo 20-26 Mayo 1985)* (Toledo: Instituto de Estudios Visigótico-Mozárabes, 1988), 281-290. For an overview on the cross cultural exchange between Castile and France, see B. F. Reilly, *The Medieval Spains* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 121-129; S. Kinoshita, *Medieval Boudaries: Rethinking Difference in Old French Litterature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 13-15.

with French nobles to encourage donations to the *reconquista* as an alternative to the crusade to the Holy Lan.[143] Urraca propagandized her political position as a Castilian friendly to French crusading spirit with a mixture of French Romanesque and Visigothic architectural forms at her major patronage site, the church of San Isidoro of Léon.[144]

The special relationship between Castile and Northern Europe, particularly at the Isabelline court, is perhaps best illuminated through a comparison with the contemporary influence of Italy. Unlike the interest in Franco-Flemish visual forms, the visual style of the Italian Renaissance had a limited reception in Castile. This was not due to a lack of awareness of contemporary advances in Italian art. Isabel did in fact own a small number of Italian paintings (fig. 28). The queen also requested or allowed Italian models her personal commissions (fig. 29-30). However, the inclusion of figures from the *Battle of the Nudes* in a frieze sculpture decorating the palace of Pontius Pilate does not so much celebrate the Italian revival of the classical past as much

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[143] Isabel also invoked the *reconquista* as a crusade. After the taking of Granada, the new Cathedral was designed so as to mimic the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. E. Rosenthal, *The Cathedral of Granada: A study in the Spanish Renaissance* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1961), 148-168; J. E. A. Kroesen, *The Sepulchrum Domini Through the Ages: Its Form and Function* (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 123-124.

[144] T. Martin, "The Art of a Reigning Queen as Dynastic Propaganada in Twelfth-Century Spain," *Speculum* 80 (2005): 1134-1171; Martin, *Queen as King: Politics and Architectural Propaganda in Twelfth-Century Spain*.

as it reveals an awareness of the cultural specificity of the visual style to identify a "Roman" interior.

In contrast to the sparing use of Italian visual culture, Italian humanism and Latin literature were widely celebrated at Isabel's court.[145] Isabel lamented her lack of education in her youth and attempted to rectify this shortcoming by studying Latin almost every day during her adult life.[146] The queen's personal library included at least eight Latin textbooks.[147] She also patronized Italian writers, philosophers, and antiquarians, encouraging them to immigrate to Castile.[148] At the University of Salamanca, the Italian scholars Lucio Marineo and Pietro Matire were charged with tutoring Prince Juan in Latin, theology, philosophy, and the arts of war. To encourage Latin studies across the kingdom, the queen commissioned a Latin-Castilian dictionary from her

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[145] Prescott, *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella*, 2: 191-192; J. Lawrance, "Humanism in the Iberian Peninsula," in *The Impact of Humanism on Western Europe*, ed. A. Goodman and A. MacKay, (London: Longman, 1990), 220-258. It should be noted that because of the strong support of Isabel and later Castilian monarchs for classical and humanistic study, the *letrados* developed proto-nationalistic and at times even anti-Italian bias. Ibid., 253-254; H. Nader, *The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance: 1350-1550* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1979), 132.

[146] C. Seguera Graíño, "Influencias de Isabel de Portugal en la educación y formación de Isabel I de Castilla," in *Isabel la Católica y su época: Actas del Congreso Internacional 2004*, ed. L. Ribot, J. Valdeón, and E. Maza, (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2007), 319-333; N. Salvador Miguel, "La actividad literaria en la corte de Isabel la Católica," in *Isabel la Católica y su época: Actas del Congreso Internacional 2004*, ed. L. Ribot, J. Valdeón, and E. Maza, (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2007), 1079-1096.

[147] F. J. Sánchez Cantón, *Libros, tapices y cuadros que coleccionó Isabel la Católica* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1950), 37.

[148] R. E. Surtz, *Writing Women in Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain: The Mothers of Saint Teresa of Avila* (Philidelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 146.

chronicler Alfonso de Palencia. Isabel became known across Europe for her attempts to modernize her court, receiving marked praise from Baldassare Castiglione.[149] Erasmus of Rotterdam lauded Isabel's efforts saying "liberal studies were brought in the course of a few years in Spain to so flourishing a condition as might not only excite the admiration but serve as a model to the most cultivated nations of Europe."[150]

Isabel's strong interest in Italian philosophy and humanism throws into high relief her visual aesthetics marked by the Franco-Flemish style.[151] In contrast, Italian models had had a decisive influence upon the painting traditions of Aragon ever since the fourteenth century. Artists such as Arnau Bassa in Barcelona (fig. 31) and Antoni Peris in Valencia (fig. 32) looked across the Mediterranean in search of models, compositions, and techniques.[152] Even as some Aragonese painters, exemplified by Lluís Dalmau (fig. 33), turned northwards to Jan van Eyck for inspiration, the royal patronage of Aragonese

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[149] Guardiola-Griffiths, *Legitimizing the Queen*, 130-131.
[150] Prescott, *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella*, 3: 193.
[151] The inability to weave together a cultural program between Isabel's literary and visual tastes has provoked some anxieties. For example, see V. Cieto Alcaide, "La versatilidad del sistema gótico: Construcción y reforma de las catedrales castellanoleonesas en el renacimiento," in *Las catedrales españolas en la edad moderna*, ed. M. A. Castillo Oreja and A. Bonet Correa, (Madrid: Visor Distribuciones, 2002), 129-147; R. Domínguez Casas, "The Artistic Patronage of Isabel the Catholic: Medieval or Modern?," in *Queen Isabel I of Castile: Power, Patronage, Persona*, ed. B. F. Weissberger, (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2008), 123-148.
[152] C. Post, *A History of Spanish Painting* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930-1966), II: 137, III, IV: 566.

kings shifted toward Italian sites. Fernando's patronage of religious monuments in Rome reflected the identity of his own kingdom with strong mercantile ties across the Mediterranean as well as land holdings in Sicily and the contested duchy of Milan.[153]

The Castilian relationship to countries located along the North Atlantic represented different political and economic ties. Isabel's cultivation of these relationships through her political policies was then articulated in her aesthetics. For example, the purchasing of tapestries brought by Flemish merchants to the Castilian fairs was made possible by the Castilian wool trade, which provided raw materials for the Flemish weavers, and the relaxing of Castilian crown taxes for imported goods during the fairs that encouraged the importation of foreign goods. The display of such tapestries n the queen's courtly rituals and personal patronage advertised the success of the specifically Castilian economy and Castilian foreign relations as a counterpoint to Aragonese's Mediterranean empire. The consumption of Northern European styled luxury goods including paintings and sculptures became a vehicle for cultivating a specifically Castilian Iberian identity, which for Isabel was also closely associated with the traditional attitudes of her predecessors. Isabel's

[153] J. Freiberg, "Bramante's Tempietto and the Spanish Crown," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 50 (2005): 151-205.

aesthetics, with their use of the Northern European stylistic language, supported the queen's position as the legitimate ruler of the Castilian kingdom emphasizing her continuation of royal precedent as well as by privileging the different socio-political and economic realities than those of her husband Fernando whose attention focused instead on Mediterranean material and cultural networks.[154]

The creation of the copy of the Flemish painting her father had donated to the Carthersian chapterhouse of Miraflores can be understood as a multivalent legitimizing object connecting Isabel both to her predicesor and to a larger Castilian aesthetic tradition. The relationship of copy to original allowed the painting by Juan de Flandes to function as a portable surrogate for Juan II. That the triptych was treasured by Isabel is attested to by its location among her personal devotional objects as well as its final donation to the queen's funerary chapel in Granada, which like Miraflores was dedicated to the two saints John.[155] The installation of the *Miraflores* replica transformed the *Capilla Real* into an alternate Burgos, uniting Isabel with her dynastic legacy. The public

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[154] T. J. Dandelet, *Spanish Rome: 1500 - 1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 1-8; Freiberg, "Bramante's Tempietto and the Spanish Crown," 151-205.
[155] Domínguez Casas, *Arte y etiqueta de los Reyes Católico*, 133; E. Ruiz García, *Los libros de Isabel la Católica: Arqueología de un patrimonio escrito* (Salamanca: Instituto de Historia del Libro y de la Lectura, 2004), 149; A. Gallego y Burín, *Dos studios sobre la Capilla Real de Granada* (Granada: Editorial Comares, 2006), 99-111.

promotion of Isabel's aesthetics supported the strong Castilian desire for similarly styled objects, weaving together a semi-unified proto-national visual style and promoting a divergent communal identity beneath the banner of the unified Spanish kingdoms.

Chapter 3: Importation and Emulation

The success of Juan de Flandes' Castilian career was directly related to his ability to satisfy the aesthetic desires of his first patron, the queen. Isabel's rule was defined by her attempts to tighten Castile's position in the web of fifteenth-century European politics, and she deftly utilized material culture to further these aims. Real political power consisted of the ability to avert military actions and negotiate treaties beneficial to the interests of the kingdom, with affairs of state conducted through a network of ambassadors, a culture of letters and orchestrated formal events. The currency of political capital was a monarch's magnificence. Throughout her reign, Isabel revealed herself as a masterful head of state by taking active control of her own reputation. She capitalized on her perceived status by crafting a system of alliances that supported her political agenda and she defended Castilian economic interests in a growing European economy. Isabel's patronage of art objects was a central component of her identity. The use of an almost exclusively Northern European aesthetic presented the queen as a wealthy and sophisticated sovereign well aware of international trends. Juan de Flandes' use of the Franco-Flemish stylistic language on objects created for Isabel subtly equated the Castilian court with the famed dukes of Burgundy, whose sumptuously

ritualized court set the standard for fifteenth-century political displays across Europe.

The *Retablo de San Juan Bautista*

Early on in his employment as court painter, Isabel requested from Juan de Flandes an altarpiece dedicated to John the Baptist for the Carthusian charterhouse of Miraflores outside of Burgos (fig. 1). This work, probably the first by the Flemish painter created in Spain, has long been noted for its similarity to contemporary works created in Northern Europe such as the *John the Baptist Triptych* by Gerard David (fig. 34) and the *Altarpiece of John the Baptist* by Rogier van der Weyden (fig. 35). In the central panel by Juan de Flandes, Christ stands in the center of the river Jordan while St. John drops the water upon him as an angel cradles his garments. The tree-spotted landscape around the figures recedes deep into the horizon. The central axis of the composition presents the Holy Trinity, with the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove descending from above the clouds. The outstretched hand and downturned visage of God the Father focuses attention on the central action.

Framing the main panel of Juan's altarpiece are four additional scenes from the life of John the Baptist: the *Birth of the Baptist, Behold the Lamb of God,* the *Beheading of the Baptist,* and the *Feast of Herod*. These secondary scenes

ground the central narrative St. John's life and emphasize his role as proto-martyr. The specific placement of the scenes creates a sense of balance in the object as a whole, emphasizing moments of interaction between the figures. In the *Birth of the Baptist* the Virgin Mary presents the infant to a seated Zachariah. John himself directs the group gathered in the wilderness to behold Christ, who stands apart and turns away. The *Beheading of the Baptist* does not show the pivotal strike with the sword but instead the presentation of the head to a waiting Salome. Salome then offers the head to Herod and his wife Herodias. The spaces themselves also seem to echo each other. The straight folds in the green bed-curtains of the *Birth of John the Baptist* have a counterpart in the columns of Herod's hall. The rocky outcrop behind St. John frames the narrative just as the tower brackets the presentation of the head to Salome. The formal echoes between the individual scenes unify the altarpiece, emphasizing its singularity.

During the creation of the *Retablo de San Juan Bautista,* Juan de Flandes lived among the Carthusian monks at Miraflores. A notation in the charterhouse register records the cost of 26,735 *maravedíes* for the housing and feeding of the master painter Juan Flamenco while he created an altarpiece

dedicated to John the Baptist to be placed in the choir.[156] The installation of the painter at the monastery from 1496 to 1499 was certainly done at the queen's behest, although it is not clear if he remained in Burgos for the duration or if he continued to travel with the court before returning in 1499 to complete the project.[157] While no other documentation exists regarding the creation of this altarpiece, the involvement of Isabel is implicit as the queen was the sole patron of the monastery improvements including the large *retablo mayor* and sculpted tomb of Juan II and Isabel of Portugal (fig. 22).[158] Queen Isabel's connection to Miraflores was such that on her deathbed she dictated that any outstanding debts incurred from the building campaign be prioritized for payment during the settling of her estate.[159]

Once finished, the *Retablo de San Juan Bautista* was installed in the lay choir of the charterhouse chapel, a small area separated from the main liturgical space by a partially open wall flanked by two altars (figs. 37 and 38). The lay choir serves as the first area, on axis with the main choir. Upon entering the lay

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[156] The surviving notation is located in three different manuscripts, with some variation. The document conserved in the cathedral of Burgos states "*que el oratorio o quadro de San Juan Bautista lo comenzó a pintar Maestro Juan Flamenco en casa, año de 1496, y la acaba año de 1499 en una celda. Costa sin la comida y color 26,735 mfs., que son 786 reales y 12 mrs.*" Published by C. M. Abad Puente, "Documentos inéditos acerca de algunos cuadros flamencos sacados de la Cartuja de Miraflores," *Razón y fe* 37 (1913): 87-88. Ponz, *Viaje de España*, 3: 9-10.
[157] Silva Maroto, *Juan de Flandes*, 135.
[158] Ibid.
[159] A. d. l. Torre y del Cerro, *Testamentaría de Isabel la Católica* (Barcelona: Vda. Fidel Rodríguez Ferrán, 1974), 2.

choir, the viewer is presented with a view of the tomb of Juan II set against the gold and polychromed *retablo mayor* and framed by the two altars left and right of the opening, the *Retablo de San Juan Bautista* and an imported Flemish altarpiece.

In 1659, the panels were removed from their original frames and reinstalled in a baroque ensemble designed by Policarpo de Nestona. Only four of the five panels were incorporated into the new structure. The central panel of the *Baptism of Christ* remained in the center with two scenes placed to either side. The *Feast of Herod* was cut down in order to be placed in the smaller opening atop the main panel.[160] The altarpiece was later confiscated during the dissolution of the monasteries either under the Napoleonic constitution of 1812 or the Revolution of 1820.[161] It is impossible to establish exactly how the paintings were originally installed, because the panels were not included in the official list of lost works compiled in the wake of the turmoil.[162] This led several

[160] Ponz's incomplete description makes it impossible to reconstruct with exactitude which of the smaller scenes was incorporated into the *retablo* at this time. For a discussion of this, see Silva Maroto, *Juan de Flandes*, 135-137.
[161] For an dissolutions of the monasteries and their impact on art collecting, see J. Brown, *Kings & Connoisseurs: Collecting Art in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).
[162] This absence of information was presumably an oversight by the prior.

later historians to question whether the surviving panels were in fact those described by Ponz in the eighteenth century.[163]

In 1929, Friedländer attributed the *Beheading of John the Baptist,* located in Geneva, to Juan de Flandes because of similarities with the panels in situ in the *retablo mayor* in Palencia.[164] To this was added the *Feast of Herod* from the Museum Mayer van der Bergh in Antwerp in 1931.[165] That same year the *Baptism of Christ* from the Abello collection in Madrid was also recognized as related to the panels in Antwerp and Geneva. The Cleveland panel of the *Birth and Naming of the Baptist* was attributed in 1976.[166] Shortly thereafter, Jozef de Coo and Nicole Reynaud traced the provenance of the Antwerp panel to the collection of General d'Armagnac, who was known to have plundered the monastery in 1810.[167] De Coo and Reynaud also argued that the Juan Flamenco named in the surviving documentation should be equated with the Juan de

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[163] This situation was compounded by a second altarpiece dedicated to John the Baptist located at Miraflores, the *Altarpiece of the Baptist* painted by Rogier van der Weyden located in the Gemäldegalerie. Tormo hypothesized that Ponz had seen these panels, but misidentified them as the altarpiece associated with Juan de Flandes. E. Tormo Monsó, "Sobre algunas tablas hispanoflamencas sacadas de Castilla la Vieja," *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones* (1907-1908): 546-548.

[164] M. J. Friedländer, "Neues über den Meister Michiel und Juan de Flandes," *Der Cicerone* 21 (1929): 254.

[165] Winkler, "Neue Werke des Meister Michiel," 178.

[166] L. Tzeutschler, "Birth and Naming of St. John the Baptist attributed to Juan de Flandes: A Newy Discovered Panel from a Hypothetical Altarpiece," *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* LXIII, 5 (1976): 118-135; R. Merrill, "A Technical Study: Birth and Naming of St. John the Baptist," *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 68 (1976): 136-145.

[167] De Coo and Reynaud, "Origen del retablo de San Juan Bautista atribuido a Juan de Flandes," 125-144.

Flandes identified in the documents commissioning the *retablo mayor* of Palencia and the court records of Isabel the Catholic. In 2001, Susan Urbach published the final panel of the *Retablo de San Juan Bautista*, the *Ecce Agnus Dei*.[168] The work was only known through an old photograph taken when the painting was part of the Deri Museum de Debrecen in Hungary and subsequently lost. However, Urbach located the object in the spring of 2003 in Belgrade.

In order to establish that the *Retablo de San Juan Bautista* was in fact the same work documented by Ponz in the eighteenth century, the panels were compared to the dimensions of the 1659 *retablo* frame, still located in the Carthusian monastery. The panels were found to match the existing openings, including the Antwerp panel, which had been cut from the top and the bottom to accommodate the smaller size of the upper *calle*.[169] These measurements verified that the panels were those mentioned in the documentation as created by "Juan Flamenco" and that this name should be considered pseudonymous with Juan de Flandes. In addition, a dendrochronological study of the

[168] Urbach, "An Ecce Agnus Dei Attributed to Juan de Flandes," 189-207.
[169] De Coo and Reynaud, "Origen del retablo de San Juan Bautista atribuido a Juan de Flandes," 136-167; D. Martens, "Identificación del "Quadro" flamenco de la Adoración de los Reyes, antiguamente en la cartuja de Miraflores," in *Actas del Congreso Internacional sobre Gil de Siloe y la escultura de su época*, ed. J. Yarza and A. C. Ibáñez Pérez, (Burgos: Institutción Fernán González, 2001), 75-77.

Antwerp, Geneva, and Cleveland panels conducted in 1993 found that the panels for all three paintings were created with wood from the same tree.[170]

Although the *Retablo de San Juan Bautista* was created for the queen of Castile and conforms to the morphology of the Iberian altarpiece tradition for side altars, the paintings created by Juan de Flandes utilize a traditionally Flemish visual style, exemplified by the vibrant colors, smooth paint application, and close attention to detail. The influence of Flemish models also extends to include the composition, configuration, and iconography. Even the morphology of the *Retablo de San Juan Bautista,* with a large central scene flanked by four secondary scenes, has a precedent in the *Altarpiece of the Holy Sacrament* by Dirk Bouts (fig. 39). Furthermore the *Ecce Agnus Dei,* a subject not often found south of the Pyrenees, is similar to the painting after Dirk Bouts in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich (fig. 40).

The composition and iconography of the *Birth of John the Baptist,* the *Baptism of Christ,* and the *Presentation of the Head to Salome* correspond closely to the *Triptych of John the Baptist* by Rogier van der Weyden (fig. 35). The *Triptych*

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[170] C. Périer-D'Ieteren et al., "Apport des méthodes d'investigation scientifique à l'étude de deux peintures atrribués à Juan de Flandes," *Genava* 41 (1993): 107-118; P. Klein, "L'examen dendrochronologique des panneaux peints," in *Conservation-Restauration, technologie: Cycle de conférences-débats*, ed. C. Périer-D'Ieteren and A. Godfrind-Born, (Brussels: Université libre de Bruxelles, 1994-1995), 43-56. The technical studies also found that the wood was consistent with the copy of the *Miraflores Altarpiece*, discussed in chapter 2.

of John the Baptist was likely a primary source for Juan de Flandes as it was presumably located in the Miraflores monastery at this time.[171] The altarpiece was likely donated to the monastery by Juan II along with the *Miraflores Triptych* in the mid-fifteenth century. Juan de Flandes may even have created the copy of the *Triptych of John the Baptist,* today located in the Städel Museum in Frankfurt am Main (fig. 36).[172]

The visual similarity between Juan de Flandes' painting and these prominent Netherlandish examples suggests that Isabel commissioned the piece as an example of locally produced "Flemish" painting. The assessment of the panels as highly desirable Flemish luxury goods is heightened by their original display alongside imported Flemish paintings. The lay choir at Miraflores also included an altarpiece dedicated to the early life of Christ by

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[171] Lane, "Rogier's Saint John and Miraflores Altarpieces Reconsidered," 655-672; M. Martens, "A Puzzling Footnote to Rogier van der Weyden's St. John the Baptist Altarpiece," in *Onverwacht bijeengebracht: Opstellen voor Ed Taerne en Lyckle de Vries ter gelegenheid van hun 25-jarig jubileum in dienst van de Rijksuniversiteit Groningen*, ed. J. L. de Jong and E. A. Koster, (Groningen: Instituut voor Kunst- en Architectuurgeschiedenis, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 1996), 89-94; V. Reed, "Rogier van der Weyden's Saint John Triptych for Miraflores and a Reconsideration of Salome," *Oud Holland* 115 (2001/2002): 1-14; De Vos, *Rogier van der Weyden*, 285-290; Kemperdick, Sander, and Eclercy, *The Master of Flémalle and Rogier van der Weyden*, 352.

[172] Klein, "Dendrochronologische Untersuchungen an Eichenholztafeln von Rogier van der Weyden," 113-123; Dijkstra, "Methods for the Copying of Paintings," 67-76; De Vos, *Rogier van der Weyden*, 289; Kemperdick, Sander, and Eclercy, *The Master of Flémalle and Rogier van der Weyden*, 358; H. Mund, "Original, Copy and Influence, A Complex Issue," in *Rogier van der Weyden (1400-1464): Master of Passions*, ed. L. Campbell and J. Van der Stock, (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2009), 194-195.

another Flemish painter, the Master of the Legend of St. Catherine (fig. 41).[173] This altarpiece was brought to the monastery by Isabel in 1495, one year in advance of the arrival of Juan de Flandes.[174] The *Retablo de San Juan Bautista* might also have been installed as a pendant to the no longer extant five-paneled altarpiece created by Michel Sittow for the monastery.

While Juan de Flandes did not copy any of the imagery in the *Retablo de San Juan Bautista* directly, he clearly drew inspiration from the compositions, models, and practices associated with his homeland. As such, the altarpiece manifests Isabel's interest in establishing a court style based on Northern European aesthetics popularized by the displays of the famed dukes of Burgundy. Isabel's desire to emulate this foreign culture reflects the fifteenth-century understanding of the Burgundian court as the most luxurious and sophisticated of Europe.[175] Therefore, the importation of Burgundian court

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[173] The central panel of this altarpiece, the *Adoration of the Magi,* has recently been identified in a private Swiss collection. The dimensions of this work, 160 x 107 cm, perfectly coincide with the dimensions of the *Baptism of Christ* by Juan de Flandes. See Abad Puente, "Documentos inéditos acerca de algunos cuadros flamencos sacados de la Cartuja de Miraflores," 85; D. Martens, "Identification du 'tableau de l'Adoration des Mages', flamand, anciennement à la Chartreuse de Miraflores," *Annales d'histoir de l'art et d'archeologie. Univeristé Libre de Bruxelles* 22 (2000): 65-84; Martens, "Identificación del "Quadro" flamenco de la Adoración de los Reyes, antiguamente en la cartuja de Miraflores," 75-79, 89. The popularity of this painter with Isabel is suggested by the acquisition of a second altarpiece, a triptych dedicated to the Virgin, of which two panels survive in the *Capilla Real* in Granada. Bermejo, "Las tablas flamencas," 186-188.

[174] Martens, "Identificación del "Quadro" flamenco de la Adoración de los Reyes, antiguamente en la cartuja de Miraflores," 74.

[175] On the European reception of the Burgundian court see Belozerskaya, *Rethinking the Renaissance : Burgundian Arts Across Europe*.

culture, including the display of Franco-Flemish luxury goods, elaborate court rituals, and use of Northern European visual aesthetics n royal commissions, allowed Isabel to present herself as a sophisticated monarch aware of international cultural trends.[176] The incorporation of Franco-Flemish aesthetics in Isabel's personal tastes became so firmly entrenched in the establishment of her public persona, that the "Hispano-Flemish" style of the late fifteenth century has been directly attributed to Isabel's influence upon society.[177] Her interest in Burgundian culture also coincided with attempts to facilitate political and economic ties between northern Europe and Castile.

Isabel's Aesthetics

Isabel's interest in Franco-Flemish paintings and other forms of luxury goods was deftly expressed through her employment of Northern European court artists and her collecting habits. Ever since Jan van Eyck had traveled to

[176] Isabel was not alone in this strategy. Many persons across Europe sought imported Flemish luxury goods. Paintings by Flemish masters had a subsequent influence on artists across the continent. The Aragonese Juan de Cornogo studied at the Univerisity of Paris and the court at Naples before working with Fernando. T. Knighton, "A Meeting of Chapels: Toledo, 1502," in *The Royal Chapel in the Time of the Hapsburgs: Music and Cerimony in the Early Modern European Court*, ed. J. J. Carreras and B. Garcia, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), 85-102. For a discussion on the impact of Flemish objects in Italy see P. Nuttall, *From Flanders to Florence: The Impact of Netherlandish Painting, 1400-1500* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); M. Kloster, "Italy and the North: A Florentine Perspective," in *The Age of Van Eyck: The Mediterranian World and Early Netherlandish Painting, 1430-1530*, ed. T.-H. Borchert, (London: Thames and Hudson, 2002), 79-94.

[177] Rubin, *Isabella of Castile: The First Renaissance Queen*, 305.

Spain as an emissary for Philip the Good, Castilian monarchs had been aware of the developments in Flemish painting and its association with the dukes of Burgundy.[178] Although he only remained on the Iberian Peninsula for a short time, van Eyck's presence stimulated the appetite of the Castilian court for works of art of Northern European origin. Flemish sculptors and painters began to immigrate to Spain where they received lucrative commissions for altarpieces, funerary monuments, and illuminated manuscripts. Among these were Isabel's court painters Antonio de la Torre, Michel Sittow, and Juan de Flandes. The employment of artists allowed Isabel ready access to high-quality luxury objects specifically tailored to articulate her position in Castilian society. Her patronage also promoted the priorities of her rule. The unity of visual form in these objects, through the dominant use of the Franco-Flemish visual style, often combined traditional Hispanic iconographies and morphologies with the Flemish visual language so deeply associated with the Isabelline court.[179]

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[178] C. Pemán y Pemartin, *Juan van Eyck y España* (Cadiz: Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes de Cadiz, 1969); E. Bermejo, *La pintura de los primitivos flamencos en España* (Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones cientificas Instituto Diego Velazquez, 1980), 45-64; C. Reynolds, "The King of Painters," in *Investigating Jan van Eyck, Papers of the Conference at the National Gallery, London, 1998*, ed. S. Foister, S. Jones, and S. Cool, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 3.

[179] J. Yarza Luaces, *Los Reyes Católicos: Paisaje artístico de una monarquía* (Madrid: Nerea, 1993), 391; Martens, "Identification du 'tableau de l'Adoration des Mages', flamand, anciennement à la Chartreuse de Miraflores," 59-92. Nor was the imitation of the Burgundian court limited to the visual arts. Isabel also took an active interest in Franco-Flemish music. K. Kreitner, *The Church Music of Fifteenth-Century Spain* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2004); T. Knighton, "Isabel of Castile and her Music Books: Franco-Flemish Songs in Fifteenth-Century Spain," in *Queen Isabel*

Isabel also patronized the Spanish-born Hispano-Flemish painters Francisco Chacón and Pedro Berruguete. Francisco Chacón was the first artist to be employed permanently by Isabel, coming under contract only one year after the treaty of Alcáçovas affirmed Isabel's position as queen of Castile.[180] He accompanied Isabel to Granada, where he painted *La Quinta Angustia* (fig. 42) for a hermitage dedicated to the sorrows of the Virgin. The employment of a court artist immediately following the establishment of her reign reveals Isabel's awareness of the power and importance of visual culture in aggrandizing and legitimizing her position as the Castilian monarch. Although never officially named as court painter in the surviving documentation, Pedro Berruguete appears among the artists working on royal projects, including the

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I of Castile: Power, Patronage, Persona, ed. B. F. Weissberger, (New York: Tamesis, 2008), 29-52. The circulation of Burgundian songs was also popular at the English royal court from the second-half of the fifteenth century into the first few decades of the sixteenth, indicating that Isabel was not alone in this strategy. J. Stevens, *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court* (London: Methuen, 1961); T. Knighton, "Northern Influence on Cultural Developments in the Iberian Peninsula," *Renaissance Studies* 7 (1987): 221-237; Knighton, "Isabel of Castile and her Music Books: Franco-Flemish Songs in Fifteenth-Century Spain," 29-52. Kenneth Kreitner notes that although a stylistic shift occurred during the early 1490s under Isabel, it was not due to deliberate reform but to political decisions that affected the cultural environment, such as the employment of a composer who had studied in Flanders. K. Kreitner, "Juan de Anchieta and the Rest of the World," in *Queen Isabel I of Castile: Power, Patronage, Persona*, ed. B. F. Weissberger, (Woodbridge, UK: Tamesis, 2008), 170-171.

[180] J. M. Pita Andrade, "Pinturas y pintores de Isabel la Católica," in *Isabel la Católica y el arte* ed. G. Anes and Á. de Castrillón, (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2006), 24. A document dated December 21, 1480, written in Medina del Campo. Refers to a "pintor mayor, para en toda su vida; confiada en su suficiencia e abilidad, e por algunos Buenos servicios fechos e que facedes cada dia a la Casa Real, quedando abligado a vigilar que ningún judio ni moro sea osado de pintar figura alguna que toque a la religion católica." M. Gómez Moreno, "Francisco Chacón, pintor de la reina católica," *Archivo español de arte* (1927): 359-360.

Carthusian charterhouse of Miraflores (fig. 43) and the royal monastery of Santo Tomás in Ávila (fig. 44). Moreover, Pedro Berruguete was one of two Castilian painters whose works are identifiable in the queen's personal collection installed in the Capilla Real (fig. 45). Other works such as the *Auto de Fe* (fig. 46) communicate the social-political realities of Isabel's rule. These works suggest that Berruguete was patronized by the queen, even though he was never officially named a *pintor de la courte*.[181] Berruguete's mature style, exemplified by the *Annunciation* from the Charterhouse of Miraflores (fig. 43), reflects his training in the Hispano-Flemish style of his native Castile as well as the impact of his travels in the 1470s to Urbino, where he worked alongside Joos van Ghent for Federigo da Montefeltro.[182]

In addition to Francisco Chacón and Pedro Berruguete, Isabel also employed three painters of Northern European origin. Antonio Inglés arrived with the English delegation charged with negotiating the marriage contract

[181] The position of Pedro Berruguete as an active member of Isabel's court is also suggested by the prominence of his son Alonso as the 'Pintor del Rey' to Charles V in one year of his return to Spain from Italy in 1517. For more information on Alonso, see Post, *A History of Spanish Painting*, 14: 13-31; L. Boubli, "'Magnífico mastre Alonso Berruguete': introduction à l'étude de son oeuvre graphique," *Rev. A* 103 (1994): 11-32; L. Waldman, "Two Foreign Artists in Renaissance Florence: Alonso Berruguete and Gian Francesco Bembo," *Apollo* 160 (2002): 22-29.
[182] P. Silva Maroto, *Pedro Berruguete* (Madrid: Junta de Castilla y Leon, 1998); F. Mariás, "Petrus Hispanus en Urbino y el bastón del Gonfaloniere: El problema Pedro Berrugete en Italia y historiografía española," *Archivo español de arte* 75 (2002): 361-380.

between Catherine of Aragon and Arthur Prince of Wales.[183] In 1489, Maestre Antonio created portraits of the royal children, for which he was paid 10,112 *maravedíes* and eight yards of fine cloth from Holland.[184] The modest wages and brief sojourn when compared to Isabel's other court painters suggest that Antonio Inglés was primarily in the service of Henry VII, although Isabel does not seem to have shied away from employing the painter herself while he remained in Castile. In contrast to Maestre Antonio, Michel Sittow became deeply entrenched in the Spanish court as he served the queen from his arrival in Iberia until her death. He arrived in Castile in 1492, shortly after his apprenticeship in Bruges, and was quickly granted the title of "official painter" along with an annual pension of 50,000 *maravedíes* for a minimum of five years.[185] He continued to receive payments from the queen until 1504, although he was not in residence in Castile after 1501 but at the court of Philip the Handsom and Princess Juana in Flanders.[186]

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[183] P. Silva Maroto, "La colección de pinturas de Isabel la Católica," in *Isabel la Católica: La magnificencia de un reinado, quinto centenario de Isabel la Católica, 1504-2004*, ed. F. C. Cremades, (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2004), 118.

[184] In 1489, Maestre Antonio was paid 4,300 in two separate payments. Additionally, Maestre Antonio was given the eight yards of cloth in September of that year in payment for pictures of the prince and princesses. One year later Maestre Antonio received 2,812 for an image of unidentified figures. Pita Andrade, "Pinturas y pintores de Isabel la Católica," 24.

[185] A. d. l. Torre y del Cerro, *La casa de Isabel la Católica* (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1956), 99.

[186] Between 1501 and 1504 Sittow was installed at the court of Philip the Handsome and Juana la Loca in Flanders. Köks, "Michel Sittow: A Painter from Tallinn," 42. In his later career Sittow also found patronage at the courts of Henry VII, King of England, Christian II, King of

The careers of Maestre Antonio and Michel Sittow suggest that the arrival of Juan de Flandes to the Isabelline court in 1496 was not the initiation, but the culmination of a long-held interest by the queen in Flemish artists. The speed with which Isabel put Juan de Flandes to work upon the *Retablo de San Juan Bautista* at the charterhouse of Miraflores, even before granting him the official position of court painter, reveals Isabel's strong desire to utilize this Northern European artist at one of her major patronage sites. Nor was Juan de Flandes the sole Flemish artist working at Miraflores at that time. Michel Sittow was already established there, painting a five-panel *retablo* including the Massacre of the Innocents.[187] In adition, the Flemish sculptor Gil de Siloé would have just begun carving the high altar (fig. 24), having recently completed the tombs of Juan II and Isabel of Portugal (fig. 22) and the tomb of Prince Alfonso (fig. 23).[188] It is likely that Pedro Berruguete created the *Annunciation* at this time as well.

Denmark, and Margaret of Austria, Governor of the Netherlands, all of whom were related to Isabel through the marriages of her children and grandchildren. Sittow's travels across Europe reveal the extent to which Isabel intertwined the Trastámara dynasty in broader European court politics.

[187] The original location of this work is unknown. Silva Maroto, "La colección de pinturas de Isabel la Católica," 118.

[188] For an analysis of Gil de Siloe, see F. Tarin, "El retablo de la Cartuja de Miraflores," *Bol. Com. Prov. Mmmts. Burgos* IV (1925): 399-404; A. H. Wethey, *Gil de Siloé and His School* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936); J. Salazar, "El origen flamenco de Gil de Siloé," *Archivo español de arte* 19 (1946): 228-242; M. J. Gómez Bárcena, "El sepulcro del infante Alfonso," in *Actas del congreso internacional sobre Gil de Siloe y la escultura de su época*, ed. J. Yarza and A. C. Ibáñez

Isabel also articulated her desire for Flemish objects through her collecting habits. Inventories taken just before and just after her death suggest the breadth of her collection including painting, tapestries, books, and jewels.[189] Her interest in paintings is attested by the approximately five-hundred and twenty separate pictures listed, including small devotional panels, painted ivories, large altarpieces, and even an "arc" holding twenty-two separate scenes.[190] While many of the entries simply list the general subject matter, for example "another cloth painting upon which is put our Lord on the cross,"[191] some general observations reveal the prominence of Netherlandish painting in the collection (Appendix D). Only three entries mention a specific artist. One painting is listed as "a Perugino that has a scene of martyrs."[192] Another is "a

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Pérez, (Burgos: Institutción Fernán González, Academia Burgense de Historia y Bellas Artes, 2001), 189-206; J. Yarza Luaces, "El retablo mayor de la Cartuja de Miraflores," in *Actas del Congreso Internacional sobre Gil de Siloe y la escultura de su época*, ed. J. Yarza and A. C. Ibáñez Pérez, (Burgos: 2001), 207-268.

[189] P. d. Madrazo, *Catálogo de los cuadros del Museo del Prado* (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 1873); Sánchez Cantón, *Libros, tapices y cuadros que coleccionó Isabel la Católica*; Torre y del Cerro, *Testamentaría de Isabel la Católica*; Azcárate, *Datos histórico-artisticos de fines del siglo XV y principios del siglo XVI*.

[190] The documents are difficult to assess due to the repetition of objects, and the paucity of information specific enough to distinguish the objects one from another. My assessment is based upon the analysis by Francisco Javier Sanchez Canton *Libros, Tapices y Cuadros que coleccionó Isabel la Católica* (Madrid 1950) and José Manuel Pita Andrade "Pinturas y pintores de Isabel la Católica" *Isabel la Católica y el Arte* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2006): 13-72. Both authors attempt to generate from the disparate source material a list of objects collected by Isabel.

[191] "*otro paño de como pusieron a nuestro señor en la cruz*" Sánchez Cantón, *Libros, tapices y cuadros que coleccionó Isabel la Católica*, 175.

[192] "*Un perugino que tiene un escudo con los martirios.*" Ibid., 174.

devotional panel that was painted by Michel [Sittow] for the archbishop of Granada."[193] An image of the city of Málaga is described as painted by Diego and Antón Sánchez of Guadalupe.[194] However, the survival of many of Isabel's most cherished paintings in the Capilla Real of Granada has led to the attribution, based upon stylistic analysis, of nineteen additional paintings with one work attributed to Sandro Botticelli, one to Perugino, one to Berruguete, one to the Aragonese Hispano-Flemish painter Bartolomé Bermejo, and fifteen to Flemish artists including Hieronymus Bosch, Dirk Bouts, and Hans Memling.[195] Eight objects are described as "Greek" indicating Byzantine icons, including the two-part Virgin and Child with the entombment of St. Catherine (fig. 47).[196] Although no other objects in the inventories are identifiable by their nomenclature, sixty-four objects are described as diptychs or triptychs. The implication that these morphological forms are indicative of objects produced in Northern Europe is supported by the description of one object as being

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[193] "*Otras tablas de devoción que pintó Michel por las del arzobispo de Granada.*" Ibid., 169.
[194] "*En el real sobre Málaga, en XVII de Junio, por libramiento del Obispo de Auila, dí a Diego Sánchez e Antón Sánchez de Guadalupe, pintores, por los días que estouieron en el real pintando Málaga por mandado de su Alteza, e por venida e buelta a su casa, tres mil mrs. Por el dicho libramieno.*" E. B. Ruano, *El libro del limosnero de Isabel la Católica* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2004), no. 35.
[195] It should be noted that the largest proportion of identifiable paintings is the panels associated with the *Retablo de Isabel* painted by Juan de Flandes. This object will be discussed in detail in chapters 4 and 5 of this dissertation.
[196] "*Otras dos tablas que en la vna esta nuestra señora con el niño en los braços e en la otra santa catalina con su Rueda son de las de greçia. Vendióse al conde de Benavente*" Sánchez Cantón, *Libros, tapices y cuadros que coleccionó Isabel la Católica*, 176.

painted on Flemish oak, and a second as including a "woman dressed as a Fleming."[197] Of the ninety-four objects that can be identified as originating in a specific European region and therefore likely painted in a regional style, eighty-five percent can be identified as Flemish. Because the appearance of Byzantine and Italian paintings counters the argument that Isabel had access to a limited market, the emphasis placed upon Northern European objects in the collection implicates a strong personal affinity for Flemish aesthetics. The description of six objects of Flemish origin as incorporating the arms of the royal family emphasizes the connection between Northern European stylistic language and the monarchy, suggesting the objects as exemplary of Isabel's publicaesthetic desires.[198]

Nor was Isabel's interest in Northern European objects limited to paintings. Isabel was an active collector of tapestries, accumulating over three hundred weavings as direct commissionis, purchases on the open market, and gifts from her courtiers.[199] Isabel's appetite for these expensive luxury goods

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[197] "*Dos tablas, la vna de vn Christo y la otra de nuestra Señora, medios cuerpos, de roble de Flandes 8 ducados de oro. Vendiose a M. de Fonseca en 3.000 mrs.*" Ibid., 174.
[198] "*Otra table que son dos pieças para altar en questan asymismo las letras de la consagraçion y debaxo de las letras esta un escudo de las armas Reales y en la otra tabla esta la passion de Nuestro Se~nor todo yluminado de oro.*" Ibid., 167. "*Vna ymajen en pergamino yluminado que hera nuestra señora con su hijo en los braços y santa ysabel con vn libro en las manos e de la otra parte vna mugger vestida a la flamenco al pie de las dichas ymajenes estaban las armas rreales.*" Ibid., 173.
[199] Assessment of the Isabel's collection is based upon inventories made in preparation for the sale held at Toro in the wake of the queen's death. Three additional texts provide detailed

was so great that it necessitated increasing the annual royal household budget between 1498 and 1503.[200] Tapestries were well suited to the itinerant Castilian court due to their portability, spatial adaptability, and intrinsic thermal properties. The majority of tapestries in Isabel's collection represented devotional subjects, including a "large wool and silk tapestry of the *Seven Sacraments*."[201] Isabel also collected small tapestries to serve as altar canopies, for example "another small tapestry with a Crucifix and Our Lady and St. John with four coats of arms of Castile and Leon and Aragon. . . with much silk."[202] Just as in the collection of paintings the inclusion of the royal arms or emblems

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accounts of objects, especially those that were not sold but instead passed to Margaret of Austria and Juana la Loca. The secretary to the Catholic kings, Gaspar de Gricio, inventoried the tapestries of the Alcázar of Segovia in 1503. AGS Patronato Real, leg. 30-6 published in J. Ferrandis, *Inventarios reales (Juan II a Juana la Loca)* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Diego Valázquez, 1943), 69-169; Sánchez Cantón, *Libros, tapices y cuadros que coleccionó Isabel la Católica*, 109-114. A second text was created in Granada in 1499 to account for the belongings of Princess Margaret. AGS Patronato Real, Capitulaciones de la Casa de Austria, leg. 1 no. 7 published by R. Beer, "Acten, Regesten und Inventare aus dem Archivo General zu Simancas," in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen ammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* (Viena: Theil, 1891), CX-CXXIII. The last was produced by Diego and Alonso de Ribera, chamberlains to Juana from 1509-1555; AGS Contaduría mayor, primera época, leg. 1213 cf. Ferrandis, *Inventarios reales (Juan II a Juana la Loca)*, 344-352. Sánchez Cantón organized this material and incorporated tapestries from the inventories of Isabel's lady-in-waiting, Violante de Albión, and chamberlain, Sancho de Paredes, both of whom were entrusted with tapestries from isabel's personal collection. Sánchez Cantón established a list of 327 tapestries owned by the queen. It is not clear if this list includes duplication and is, therefore, inflated. Although it is impossible to map the exact contours of Isabel's collection, the source material indicates an extensive and expensive assortment of objects.

[200] J. Martínez Millán, *La corte de Carlos V*, 5 vols. (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2000), 1: 15.

[201] Libro del Tesoro de los alcázares de Segovia, cf. Ferrandis, *Inventarios reales (Juan II a Juana la Loca)*, 144.

[202] Libro del Alcázar, 1503. Ibid., 143.

in compositionssuch as the *Tree of Jesse*, overtly articulates the queen's ownership. When the tapestry was displayed, the surrounding space became incorporated into Isabel's statement of possession. The tapestry served as a portable marker of royal power and prestige that could be manipulated as Isabel migrated across the kingdom.

Like the queen's painting collection, her tapestry collection reveals a strong affinity for Northern European objects. Many of the entries describe the tapestries as having "French figures" or as "Arras cloth." While this certainly reflects the importance of Arras as a weaving center, whose name was synonymous with tapestry production in this period other entries reveal these objects as representative of Franco-Flemish aesthetics through their invocation of famed Flemish paintings. For example, Isabel purchased several tapestries from the Flemish tapestry maker and merchant Mathias Guerlas at Medina del Campo in January of 1504.[203] The *Mass of St. Gregory,* purchased for 56,200 *maravedíes*, is described as:

> a rich devotional tapestry of gold and silk and wool, with Our Lord at the top. . . with all the mysteries of the Passion, and beneath him St. Gregory dressed giving mass, and on the right, behind him, a deacon with a green alb lifting St. Gregory's chasuble, and in front of him a cardinal holding the mitre of St. Gregory, and in the other part, on the

[203] C. H. Carretero, *Tapices de Isabel la Católica: Origen de la colección real española* (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 2004), 140.

> left side, a cardinal with another deacon with a cross in hand, and behind him a bishop and two pages.[204]

This lengthy description allows the no longer extant composition to be identified as possibly based upon the influential painting of this subject by Robert Campin (fig. 48).[205] The use of this composition on an object purchased from a Flemish merchant suggests that the tapestry was woven in Northern Europe and subsequently brought to Castile for sale at the open market of the Medina del Campo fair. Isabel must have favored this object as Juana la Loca commissioned a second tapestry illustrating this composition from the weaver Peter van Aelst as a gift for her mother (fig. 49). The importance accorded to tapestries woven in Flanders is suggested by the inclusion of the word "Brussels" prominently woven into the border of St. Gregory's alb. Isabel also received a tapestry of *St. Luke Painting the Virgin* from Fernando with "a niche formed by arcades, and at one end hangs a crimson brocade canopy from a baldachin, and beneath the canopy is a chair and a book and our Lady with her Son. . . and in the other part of the hanging is St. Luke in a red and gold robe

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[204] Libro de Sancho de Paredes, cfr. Sánchez Cantón, *Libros, tapices y cuadros que coleccionó Isabel la Católica*, 118.

[205] For a discussion of the influence of Campin's *Mass of St. Gregory* see D. Maertens, "Rayonnement d'un modèle: Emprunts méconnus à la 'Messe de Saint Grégoire' flémallienne dans la peinture et la tapisserie bruxelloises," *Annales d'histoire de l'art et d'archéologie* 23 (2001): 25-59.

painting Our Lady."[206] This tapestry corresponds closely to the composition created by Rogier van der Weyden (fig. 50) and may have looked similar to a tapestry housed in the Louvre woven in the southern Netherlands around 1500 (fig. 51).[207] The acquisition of a woven Nativity (fig. 52) further conflates the relationship between painted and woven image in its imitation of the triptych format. The compositions also invoke the engravings of the *Biblia Pauperum* which were themselves based upon the paintings of Jan van Eyck, Rogier van der Weyden, and Dirk Bouts.[208]

The amassing of Franco-Flemish tapestries, including those based upon famed Netherlandish paintings, when considered alongside Isabel's painting collection and employment of court artists, reveals a specific aesthetic sensibility. The queen's interest in Northern European styled material culture extended to include her sense of fashion. She was well-known for her dresses crafted from Flemish textiles, trimmed with ermine or sable, embroidered with gold and silver thread, and encrusted with jewels. Her regal garb was accented by diamonds, rubies, sapphires, and pearls from her immense collection of

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[206] Sánchez Cantón, *Libros, tapices y cuadros que coleccionó Isabel la Católica*, 121; E. Torra de Arana, A. Hombría Tortajada, and T. Domingo Pérez, *Los tapices de La Seo* (Zaragoza: Caja de Ahorros de la Inmaculada, 1985), 148-151.
[207] G. Delmarcel, *La tapisserie flamande du XVe au XVIIIe siècle* (Tielt: Lanoo, 1999), 52-53.
[208] Ibid., 19-33.

jewelry.[209] The queen's taste for fine gems is documented as early as her engagement to Fernando, when as part she was given the famed ruby and pearl necklace once owned by Queen Juana Enriquez of Aragon and valued at over 20,000 ducats as a gift.[210]

While Flemish textiles were the most luxurious and expensive fabrics of the day and as such was typical of fashions at many European courts, the reliance of the Castilian economy on the wool trade provided a context in which the fabric served as a symbol for socio-political relationships.[211] The topography and climate of the Iberian Peninsula provided ideal grazing land for flocks of sheep while the expanding frontier during the *reconquista* brought vast stretches of sparsely populated land under Castilian control. Medieval

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[209] The inventory documents list several hundred bejeweled objects collected by Isabel during her lifetime.

[210] Isabel was notorious for wearing this necklace in the presence of her brother, Enrique IV, in open defiance of his wishes regarding her betrothal to Fernando. Palencia, *Cronica de Enrique IV*, 283-284.

[211] Similarly, Castile was linked to the kingdom of Granada via silk. Raw silk was produced in Andalusia and much of it was imported into Castile for processing before being exported across Europe. Toledo in particular was a center of production for finished silk cloth. After 1492, Isabel streamlined the Iberian silk network by simplifying the royal tax code regarding the movement and sale of the luxury textile. Ambitious *toledanos* immigrating to southern Spain in the hopes of increasing their fortunes created a network of farmers-finishers-exporters who played an essential role in developing the grenadine silk industry. L. Martz, "*Toledanos* and the Kingdom of Granada, 1492-1560s," in *Spain, Europe and the Atlantic World: Essays in Honour of John H. Elliott*, ed. R. Kagan and G. Parker, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 103-124. For an overview of the Spanish silk industry, see F. L. May, *Silk Textiles of Spain, Eighth to Fifteenth Century* (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1957). On the economics of silk, see D. Jacoby, "Silk Economics and Cross-Cultural Artistic Interaction: Byzantium, the Muslim World, and the Christian West," *Dumbarton Oads Papers* 58 (2004): 197-240; L. Monnas, *Merchants, Princes and Painters: Silk Fabrics in Italian and Northern Paintings, 1300-1550* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

monarchs supported the herding economy by establishing *cañadas,* or sheep paths, across the kingdom.[212] During the fourteenth century, population decline and changes to the political landscape because of the Hundred Years War restricted Flemish access to English wool, resulting in new trade agreements between the Northern European textile production centers and the Castilian crown which by this time had developed the merino breed, most likely from cross-breeding with North African sheep. [213] The Flemish weavers used the exceptionally high quality merino wool to manufacture luxurious textiles including the famed Flemish tapestries that became the standard for conspicuous courtly consumption across Europe. By Isabel's reign the annual sheep migrations across the *cañadas* involved hundreds of thousands animals. Castile exported large quantities of merino wool to Northern European centers of cloth production, the largest recipient of which was the Burgundian Netherlands.[214] Taxes on the movement of flocks, the fairs that provided the loci for business interactions between merchants and herders, and the royally sponsored shipping industry that transported of wool, underwrote much of

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[212] C. R. Phillips and W. D. Phillips, *Spain's Golden Fleece: Wool Production and the Wool Trade from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 100-101; J. William D. Phillips and C. R. Phillips, *A Concise History of Spain* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), 90.
[213] William D. Phillips and Phillips, *A Concise History of Spain*, 91.
[214] P. Spufford, *Power and Profit: The Medieval Merchant in Europe* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2002), 232-233.

Isabel's purchasing power. Therefore, when the queen received foreign ambassadors cloaked in the finest Flemish textiles woven with the symbols of her kingdom, she was figuratively wrapped in the Castilian economy and asserted her kingdom's privileged role in the broader European trade network.[215]

This statement of political and economic power extended through the other displays of consumption, such as the amassing of a large tapestry collection and sponsoring Netherlandish court artists. The *Retablo de San Juan Bautista* epitimized the queen's aesthetic tastes. The imagery evokes the Flemish painting tradition exemplified by the similarity between the angel of the *Baptism of Christ* (fig. 53) and the singing angels of the *Ghent Altarpiece* by Jan van Eyck (fig. 54). The composition of the *Naming of John the Baptist* (fig. 55) is reminiscent of the depiction of the same subject in the *Turin-Milan Hours* (fig. 56). Even the presentation of the head of the Baptist to Salome was common to Flemish narrative cycles, but relatively unknown in Castile.[216] The stylistic use of bright jewel-like color, crisp drapery folds, deep landscapes, and microscopic detail correspond not only to Juan de Flandes' Netherlandish training but also to the desires of the queen. The *retablo* aditionally provided visual references to

[215] Pulgar, *Cronica de los senores Reyes Catolicos*, 118-119.
[216] Silva Maroto, *Juan de Flandes*, 158-162.

Isabel's more general interest in Netherlandish luxury goods. The heavy, green bed curtains, curved Flemish mirror, and expensive dress of Herod and his wife conceptually invoked similar luxury items from the queen's personal collection, creating a unified visual aesthetic. The sophistication of the fictive painted world just beyond the picture plane as representing the ostentaciousness of the Castilian court would have been heightened by the installation of the altarpiece at the royal patronage site of Miraflores. Set beneath the brightly colored stained glass (fig. 57) and before the massive gilt-polychrome *retablo mayor* (fig. 24), the altarpiece facilitates an atmosphere of magnificence. This successful articulation of Isabel's aesthetics must have been integral to the elevation of Juan de Flandes to the status of an official position of court painter.

Political Displays at Isabel's Court

Like the *Retablo de San Juan Bautista,* the assortment of luxury goods collected by the queen fulfilled multiple purposes. Valuable objects could be sold to finance the crown's elevated expenditures, as when the expenses for the Granada war campaign forced the sale of the crown jewels in 1489, including the famed ruby necklace.[217] A collection of luxury goods also provided ready

[217] Prescott, *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella*, 233. Metalwork could also provide a small amount of personal protection. When a madman attempted to assassinate King Fernando

fodder for gifts to visiting dignitaries and prominent members of the court. Isabel utilized gift-giving as a way to facilitate bonds between herself and others, dispersing the queen's aesthetics while concurrently stating power, wealth, and persona.[218] However, the most common function of the royal collections was the construction of perceived magnificences through display during ostentacious court ceremony. Even from the earliest moments of her rule Isabel exhibited a sophisticated awareness of the importance of public displays to symbolically assert sovereignty over the combined Spanish kingdoms. For example, when Fernando arrived after Isabel's solo-coronation Isabel requested that he put off entering the city of Segovia for three days so that she could make adequate preparations for his arrival.[219] Isabel sent the most important figures, including Cardinal Iñigo López de Mendoza de la Vega and Archbishop of Toledo Alfonso Carrillo, to greet Fernando at the gates of the city. Fernando and his entourage processed down streets hung with tapestries and banners while musicians, singers, and jugglers entertained the crowds. The king was re-dressed in gold cloth and sable. The city dignitaries swore

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during festivals celebrating the treaty of Barcelona on December 7, 1492, the king's heavy gold collar deflected the knife preventing a fatal wound. A. Bernáldez, *Historia de los Reyes Católicos d. Fernando y da. Isabel: Crónica inédita del siglo XV* (Granada: Imprenta y librería de D. José Maria Zamora, 1856), 656.

[218] J. M. N. Soria, *Fundamentos ideológicos del poder real en Castilla (siglos XIII-XVI)* (Madrid: EUDEMA, 1988), 54.

[219] Flores, *Crónica incompleta de los Reyes Católicos, 1469-1476*, 133.

allegiance to the new king, and a thanksgiving mass was held in the cathedral. Only after all this pomp did Isabel greet her husband with an embrace before their subjects. The royal entrance at Segovia set a precedent, and Isabel returned to this template throughout her reign.

Unlike the inventories, where little attention was paid to articulating the specific cultural origins or stylistic emulations of the paintings and tapestries of Isabel's collection, descriptions of social displays and fashion reveal an awareness of regional cultural difference that could serve as propaganda.[220] During the siege of Granada, Isabel traveled from Cordoba to inspect the troops. As was fitting to her station, the queen resided in silk tents and provided the highest ranking courtiers with a sumptuous feast served on bejeweled golden plate (fig. 58).[221] When Isabel inspected the troops, she dressed in Andalusian-styled crimson velvet brocade with a mantle decorated with Moorish embroidery. She was joined by King Fernando who also sported

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[220] For an introduction to the cultural capital of fashion and its use in identity construction, see J. Craik, *The Face of Fashion: Cultural Studies in Fashion* (London: Routledge, 1994); H. Kuper, "Costume and Identity," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 15, 3 (1973); D. Crane, *Fashion and Its Social Agendas: Class, Gender, and Identity in Clothing* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001). For the role of fabrics in contemporary Italian society see J. Bridgeman, "'Pagar le Pompe': Why Sumptuary Laws did not Work," in *Women in Italian Renaissance Culture and Society*, ed. L. Panizza, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 212; E. Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance: Consumer Culture in Italy 1400-1600* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 229-232.

[221] Bernáldez, *Historia de los Reyes Católicos*, 165.

Andalusian dress including a Moorish scimitar.[222] The utilization of clothing modeled on the Nasrid court of the Alhambra in the Castilian royal entrance suggests the recognition of the sophistication of the Muslim society.[223] However the performance in the midst of open military conflict outside the gates of the Muslim capital itself implicates the clothing as surrogate spolia usurped and re-purposed in order to emphasize the superiority of the Christian kingdoms.[224]

Just as the queen adeptly adopted Islamic visual culture for political purposes before and after the conquest of Granada, Isabel also emulated the courtly rituals of the dukes of Burgundy in order to assert her status as a sophisticated and powerful ruler.[225] Since the beginning of his reign in 1419,

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[222] Rubin, *Isabella of Castile: The First Renaissance Queen*, 243.

[223] C. Bernis, "Modas moriscas en la sociedad critiana española del siglo xv y principios del siglo xvi," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 144 (1959): 198-210.

[224] The repurposing of Islamic material culture in the *reconquista* has a lengthy history best exemplified by the Pamplona casket, a carved ivory box originally given to the Muslim general Abd al-Malik in celebration for the conquest of leon in the eleventh century. The ivory was later repurposed by the Christian forces and used as a reliquary for the Cordoban martyrs Nunilo and Alodia. J. Harris, "Muslim Ivories in Christian Hands: The Leire Casket in Context," *Art History* 18 (1995): 213-221; D. F. Ruggles, "Mothers of a Hybrid Dynasty: Race, Genealogy, and Acculturation in Al-Andalus," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 34, 1 (2004): 65-94; C. Robinson, "Love in the Time of Fitna: 'Courtliness' and the 'Pamplona' Casket," in *Revisiting Al-Andalus: Perspectives on Material Culture of Islamic Iberia and Beyond*, ed. G. Anderson and M. Rosser-Owen, (Boston: Brill, 2007), 99-114.

[225] Isabel was not alone in emulating Burgundian display. Henry VI of England received the French ambassadors at Westminster in 1445 surrounded by tapestries taken as spolia by his father, emblematically arguing his claim to the French throne. The details of the display were recorded by the ambassador. J. Stevenson, *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France during the Reign of Henry VI, King of England*, 2 vols. (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1861-1864), 1: 103; J. Stratford, *The Bedford Inventories: The Worldly Goods*

Philip the Good had fashioned his self-image as one of the leading princes of Europe through his conspicuous extravagance and luxury. The economic engine of the Low Countries was focused on the banquets, feasts, jousts, and royal receptions of his itinerant court.[226] Artists across the Burgundian territories were commissioned to produce a multi-sensory environment of magnificence (fig. 59). Contemporary witnesses marveled at the displayed consumption Political power and intellectual sophistication were communicated via heraldry and personal emblems, that were incorporated into elaborate displays.[227] The court ceremonies facilitated the equivocation of Flemish aesthetics with both Burgundian display and a unique Netherlandish

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of John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France (1389-1435) (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 1993), 87-89.

[226] J. A. Schmeller, ed. *Des böhmischen Herrn Leo's von Rozmital Ritter-, Hofund Pilger Reise durch die Abendlande, 1465-1467* (Stutgart: Gedruckt auf Kosten des Literarischen Vereins, 1844), 23-37; W. Paravicini, "Leo von Rozmital unterwegs zu den Höfen Europas," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 92 (2010): 253-307. For example, see the frontispiece of the *Roman de Girart de Roussillon* where Philip the Good is displayed richly dressed andseated before an elaborate cloth of honor, amid his courtiers. De Vos, *Rogier van der Weyden*, 249-251; Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, 90-93; Monnas, *Merchants, Princes and Painters*, 238-240. On Philip the Good's clothing see A. v. Buren, "Dress and costume," in *Les Chroniques de Hainaut ou les ambitions d'un prince bourgignon*, ed. P. Cockshaw and K. Bergen-Pantens, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 111-117.

[227] M. Pastoureau, "La Toison d'or, sa légende, ses symbols, son influence, sur l'histoire littéraire," in *L'Ordre de la Toison d'or de Phillippe le Bon à Philippe le Beau (1430-1505) idéal ou reflet d'un societé*, ed. P. Cockshaw and K. Bergen-Pantens, (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), 99-105; C. v. d. Bergen-Patens, "Héraldique et symbolique dans la miniature de présentation," in *Les Chroniques de Hainaut ou les ambitions d'un Prince Bourgignon*, ed. P. Cockshaw and C. v. d. Bergen-Patens, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 125-131; A. van Buren, "Philip the Good's Manuscripts as Documents of his Relations with the Empire," *Pays bourgignons et terres d'Empire (XVe-XVIe s.)* 36 (1996): 46-96.

identity.[228] For example, the feast of the pheasant held on February 17, 1454 by Philip the Good was a multisensory emersive spectacle intended to launch a crusade in response of the Turkish capture of Constantinople.[229] Hundreds of courtiers, local nobles, foreign dignitaries, and inhabitats of the city assembled in a grand hall hung with large tapestries. Tables held elaborate amalgamations of foodstuff and entertainments that symbolized the ducal history and chivalric intentions. Set before Philip's place was a model church complete with stained-glass, functioning belfry and choristers. During the feast, a series of performances were divided by the ringing of the bells from the model church. Occasionally the extravagance of the Burgundian duke shocked foreigners, as occurred during the negotiations between Charles the Bold and Emperor Fredrick II in 1473.[230]

The Isabelline court was certainly aware of the Burgundian reputation through diplomatic envoys and correspondance. Castile's involvement in Burgundian trieties with Philip the good and Charles the bold necessitated the sending of envoys and the exchange of state correspondence. A perception of

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[228] T.-H. Borchert and A. van Oosterwijk, "Introduction," in *Staging the Court of Burgundy: Proceedings of the Conference "The Splendour of Burgundy"*, ed. W. Blockmans and T.-H. Borchert, (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2013), 11.
[229] The feast is described by Mathiew d'Escouchy. M. d'Escouche, *Chronique de Mathieu d'Escouche*, 2 vols. (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1863), 2: 113-237.
[230] R. Vaughan, *Philip the Good: The Apogee of Burgundy* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2002), 139-154.

Franco-Flemish courtly ritual as distinct in character from traditional Castilian values is revealed in Alfonso de Palencia's *Tratado de la perfección del trinfo militar* in which the author describes a fictional encounter with the noble courts of southern France while journeying to Italy.[231] Palencia describes the French courts as exuberant and sophisticated, a result of their military success and cultural disposition. In contrast, Spanish culture is described by Alfonso as somber. He attributes the melancholic mood to continued civil unrest proximity to enemies in the Kingdom of Granada. Isabel attempted to alter this perceived difference between Northern European cultural prowess and Castilian reticence by emulating Northern European cultural aesthetics.[232] When Isabel and Fernando received the English ambassadors Dr. Thomas Savage, Dr. Richard Nafan, and Roger Machado, a Frenchman in the service of the English king, at La Mota the Castilian queen orchestrated a magnificent display intended to communicate the power and sophistication of her kingdom. The monarchs were seated beneath a cloth-of-gold canopy woven with the arms of Castile and Aragon. Isabel's dress was cut in the "local style" with cloth of gold, visible through her slashed black velvet capelet set with precious stones.

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[231] Knighton, "Isabel of Castile and her Music Books: Franco-Flemish Songs in Fifteenth-Century Spain," 29-52. On the life of Alfonso de Palencia see

[232] Burgundian court ritual had a similar effect on the English court of Henry VII. See G. Kipling, *The Triumph of Honour: Burgundian Origins of the Elizabethan Renaissance* (The Hague: The Sir Thomas Browne Institute, Leiden University Press, 1977).

She wore additional jewels in the form of a large gold and enameled necklace and ribbons studded with diamonds, pearls, rubies and other gems.[233] The next day Fernando was dressed in an ermine-lined golden cloak with large collar "in the German style" and Prince Juan wore a hat "in the French style" along with a gown and hood "in the old style." [234] The *grandées* were all dressed in the French style "as nearly as they could" and engaged in an elaborate tournament followed by a rich feast.

The importance of courtly ceremony in facilitating of political policy is revealed in the letters sent to Henry VII relaying the suitability of a match between Princess Catherine of Aragon and Prince Arthur. The ambassadors described the wealth and sophistication of the Castilian court, going so far as to describe the queen as "a thing so rich no man has ever seen the equal."[235] They agreed to the Castilian marriage in two weeks with a decrease in the dowry and the additional condition that if the Prince of Wales predeceased Catherine, the Spanish princess would inherit one-third of the revenues of Chester, Cornwall, and Wales.[236] The shifting of terms in favor of the Castilian position was

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[233] One of the English emissaries estimated that the jewels displayed by Isabel on that occasion were worth 200,000 gold crowns. R. Machado, *Journals of Roger Machado*, *Rerum britannicarum medii aevi scriptores* (London: Great Brittain Public record office, 1858), 170-184; R. M. Anderson, *Hispanic Costume, 1480-1530* (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1979), 135.
[234]Anderson, *Hispanic Costume*, 135; Machado, *Journals of Roger Machado*, 170-184.
[235] Machado, *Journals of Roger Machado*, 173.
[236] Rubin, *Isabella of Castile: The First Renaissance Queen*, 262.

certainly influenced by the feasting, jousts, luscious dress, and display of crown jewels orchestrated by Isabel.[237]

Moreover, moments of courtly celebration provided vehicles for the dissemination of Isabel's aesthetic preferences. As court artist, Juan de Flandes certainly created ephemera for these displays.[238] The image of the monarchy was a carefully constructed presentation framed by objects created by the court artists trained in Flanders and therefore ostensibly using a Northern European or Hispanic-Flemish aesthetic. Representative examples of the queen's personal collection predominantly composed of Flemish and Hispano-Flemish paintings and tapestries provided additional context for the courtly events.

The success of Isabel's intentional emulation of the richness of the dukes of Burgundy was tested in July of 1472 when the Burgundian ambassadors of Charles the Bold were received in Alcalá to seal a military and economic alliance between the two houses. The Burgundian entourage was entertained with jousts, bullfights, and banquets. The ambassadors were particularly impressed by the arrival of Isabel herself, dressed in crimson velvet and seated

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[237] The use of courtly ritual to impress foreign ambassadors coincided with the sponsoring of a royal chronicle written in Ciceronian Latin that emphasized the antiquity and grandeur of Spain for foreign consumption. Isabel entrusted the task to the Spanish humanist Antonio de Nebrija and the Italian emigrant-scholar Lucio Marineo Sículio. Tate, "Mythology in Spanish Historiography of the Middle Ages and Renaissance," 11-13.
[238] Silva Maroto, *Juan de Flandes*, 139-140.

on an armored warhorse.[239] Several years later during the travels of the court in celebration of the marriage between Philip the Handsome and Princess Juana, the duke of Burgundy was invited to decorate the town and table in the "Burgundian manner" with the famed ducal tapestries. However, the sumptuous display was unimpressive to the Castilian court after the many years of similar displays created by the queen.[240] Isabel's direct modeling of her public persona on ritualized displays established by the dukes of Burgundy allowed the queen of Castile to position herself, and by association her family, court, and kingdom, in an internationally sophisticated European milieu.

Occasionally, these displays were memorialized in a permanent donation. After the baptism of Prince Juan in July of 1478, Isabel gave a lamp to the cathedral of Seville. Although the court vacated the city almost immediately after the christening, the lamp served as a perpetual reminder of the original event and a continual testament to the power and favor of the monarchy. Similarly Gonzalo de Baeze recorded payment for "a figure of the prince, in gilt and polychrome wax which her heighness ordered be set in the

[239] Rubin, *Isabella of Castile: The First Renaissance Queen*, 104.
[240] J. García Mercadal, *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal: Desde los tiempos más remotos hasta comienzos del siglo XX* (Madrid: Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Educación y Cultura, 1999), 402-506.

chapel dedicated to Santa María la Antigua, in the major church in Seville."[241] Similarly, the *Retablo de San Juan Bautista*, although not made in commemoration of a specific royal display, was initiated while the queen was in residence at Burgos. Its continued visibility after Isabel's departure symbolized her ongoing relationship with the institution.

Like other donations, the panels of the *Retablo de San Juan Bautista* also served as a permanent reminder of the queen's power and devotion.[242] The number of royal commissions at Miraflores in many ways functioned as a continually installed royal display inhabited by the sculpted presence of Juan II, Isabel of Portugal, and Prince Alfonso. The importance of permanence for royal donations is revealed by Isabel's letter to her Roman ambassador in which she requests a papal bull making the removal of objects from the monastery of San Juan de los Reyes without her personal permission a punishable offence.[243] This request reveals Isabel's determination that her gifts remain visibly present in continual active service to the crown.

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[241] *"figura del prínçipe, de çera dorada y pintada, que su alteza mandó poner en la capilla de Santa María la antigua, del a iglesia mayor de Sevilla."* Torre y del Cerro, *Cuentas de Gonzalo de Baeza*, 72, 111; Pereda, *Las imágenes de la discordia*, 182-183.

[242] For a discussion of the role of permanent donations in constructing identity in Northern Europe see H. van der Velden, *The Donor's Image: Gérard Loyet and the Votive Portraits of Charles the Bold* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000); L. Gelfand, Walter S. Gibson, "Surrogate Selves: The 'Rolin Madonna' and the Late-Medieval Devotional Portrait," *Simiolus* 29 (2002): 119-138.

[243] Suárez Fernández, *Política internacional de Isabel la Católica*, 1: 421, 426-427.

The queen also made ritualized gifts to her subjects. Much like donations to institutions, royal gifts provided material interaction between the queen and important members of her court. As in other forms of display the gifts given by the queen reflected and therefore assisted in establishing her personal Hispano-Flemish aesthetic across Castile. The act of transfer layered a historical significance upon the material form of the object, as the object was able to trigger remembrance of the interaction with the queen long after the actual exchange. The gifts became symbolic surrogates for her presence the lives of the recipients. Such sentimental value was highest with objects originated with Isabel's personal effects. Isabel give her daughter-in-law Margaret of Austria domestic objects such as Flemish tapestries, silver dishes, and horse harnesses but also familial objects including the Aragonese ruby and pearl necklace and a diamond bracelet in the form of Isabel's emblem of arrows.[244] As the material objects cemented the relationship between the two women, the gift-giving reinforced the actions and behaviors of that relationship. For example, Isabel regularly rewarded the most valiant soldiers in the Granada campaign with valuable goods such as horses, furnishings, and fabrics.[245] The

[244] d'Anghiera, *Epistolario*, 1: 334.
[245] The English soldier known as "Escalas" was granted twelve Andalusian horses, two beds with gold coverlets, linens, and luxurious tents by the queen in thanks for his service to the *reconquista*. Prescott, *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella*, 1: 490.

success of this endeavor is subsequently revealed by the ways in which nobles, cities, and visiting dignitaries emulated her tastes in the reciprocal gifts they made in the hopes of gaining royal favor.

International Negotiations

Isabel's aesthetics, with their reliance upon Franco-Flemish visual style, cultivated a public image of the queen as well-versed in international sophistication. As such, her artistic preferences geographically coincided with her affairs of state aimed to situate Castile as essential to the European balance of power by strengthening political and economic ties to Northern Europe. As early as 1472 Isabel welcomed the Burgundian ambassadors sent by Charles the Bold in Acalá.[246] The queen of Castile also actively sought to ally herself with Fredrich III, the Holy Roman Emperor, and Maximilian I, his son, regent of the Netherlands, and from 1493, emperor. Early in the Granada campaign, Maximilian demonstrated his support of the Holy War through the gift of military assets. During the battle of Malaga, the emperor sent two ships filled with artillery to assist with the War of Granada.[247] Nor was Maximilian alone in his support. The spring campaign of 1491 witnessed an army of fifty-

[246] Rubin, *Isabella of Castile: The First Renaissance Queen*, 104.
[247] Pulgar, *Cronica de los senores Reyes Catolicos*, 304.

thousand soldiers, composed of Castilians, Aragonese, English, German, Swiss, French, and Burgundian troops.[248]

The carefully balanced European political situation was sent into turmoil upon the death of Charles VIII of France and the ascendance of Louis XII to the throne. The new French king expressed his desire to renew his "friendship and brotherhood following the old traditions of the kings of Castile and France" through the release of Cerdagne and Roussillon to Fernando, traditional Aragonese holdings located in France.[249] A treaty was eventually signed recognizing the disputed areas north of the Pyrenees as territories held by Aragon.[250] According to the 1492 treaty of Barcelona, Isabel and Fernando agreed not to ally themselves with any enemy of France, specifically the empire, and to provide military aid in the event of hostilities. The secret terms also include an agreement not to marry the heirs of the Spanish kingdoms to the royal children of England or Germany. Unbeknownst to Isabel and Fernando, the French king simultaneously petitioned the pope to recognize his claim to the duchy of Milan, an Aragonese territory.[251] When the scheme was exposed, the Catholic monarchs retaliated by joining forces with Maximilian and King

[248] Rubin, *Isabella of Castile: The First Renaissance Queen*, 281.
[249] Bernáldez, *Historia de los Reyes Católicos*.
[250] R. García y García de Castro, *Virtudes de la reina católica* (Granada: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1961), 364.
[251] Bernáldez, *Historia de los Reyes Católicos*, 264.

Manuel of Portugal. Through their combined might they succeeded in establishing the Council of Reform charged with dethroning the pope for usury.[252] In return for his support, Maximilian expected that the Spanish crown would reinforce for his own claims to Flanders and the duchy of Burgundy after the death of his wife Mary of Burgundy.[253] Maximilian proposed that the new alliance be cemented through the marriage of their children (Appendix C). As with England, Isabel deftly negotiated terms beneficial to her own cause. She maintained that because of the status of the war of Granada as a crusade, no military aid could be diverted from this most holy of cause. Only after the fall of Granada would Castile and Aragon send military aid to assist Maximilian. Moreover, Philip the Handsome would not wed Princess Isabel but the younger Juana.[254]

The double marriage of Princess Juana to Philip the Handsome and Margaret of Austria to Prince Juan cemented the alliance and establishd the future Hapsburg dynasty. Princess Margaret arrived in Castile to wed the Spanish heir in March of 1497. She had been raised at the French court in Paris in anticipation of a marriage to Charles VIII, and Isabel remarked on her

[252] Ibid.
[253] Pulgar, *Cronica de los senores Reyes Catolicos*, 304.
[254] Ibid., 333.

sophistication in dress and her natural beauty.[255] Juana was sent to Philip the Handsome in Flanders. She departed Castile with great fanfare and was accompanied by a large entourage of dignitaries and an immense quantity of luxury goods.[256] Her reception in Flanders left much to be desired. Although the Princess was granted elaborate entries and sumptuous feasts, one of which featured a *tableau vivant* dedicated to her mother, Philip the Handsome quickly revealed himself to be headstrong and self-absorbed.[257] Although Fernando and Louis XII had signed a truce regarding their competing claims for the kingdom of Naples with the treaty of Granada in 1500, Philip the Handsome renegotiated the agreement as the heir-apparent to the Spanish crown. Philip agreed that Fernando would relinquish all claims to Naples in favor of his grandson Charles if Louis would also surrender his rights on behalf of his daughter Claude. The two infants were then betrothed, with the fathers

[255] d'Anghiera, *Epistolario*, 334.
[256] Rubin, *Isabella of Castile: The First Renaissance Queen*, 350.
[257] In late 1498 and early 1499, Juana confessed to the Spanish ambassador that she was "rather weak and low spirited" and he observed that the duke had "so much intimidated this lady that she dare not raise her head." Nor was Philip diplomatic with regards to his position in the Castilian line of succession. Upon hearing of the death of Prince Juan, Philip proclaimed himself "Prince of Castile." After Isabel's death in 1504, Philip held obsequies in Brussels at the end of which he was crowned sole King of Castile and Leon and Granada even though he had not yet been recognized by the Castilian *corteés*. J. Molinet, *Chroniques*, 3 vols. (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1935-1937), I: 538-539; R. Strøm-Olsen, "Narrative, Ritual and History: Inventing the Dynastic State in Fifteenth-Century Burgundy" (Northwestern University, 2010), 412-417.

expecting to rule as regents until the children came of age.[258] The pact explicitly excluded Fernando from all future decisions, enraging the king of Aragonupon its discovery. However General de Córdoba, a decorated military learder from the war of Granada, was stationed in nNaples and refused to follow the archduke's orders claiming he only recognized the commands of his sovereign.[259] After receiving reinforcements from Maximilian upon Fernando's request, General de Córdoba rendered a crushing victory over the French forces, taking the city, and pronouncing Fernando as the sole ruler. Philip's part in the scheme won him little love from either the Spanish monarchs or their people.

Isabel's dedication to entwining the future of her kingdom with the Hapsburg holdings in Northern Europe through her children of provided political significance to Isabel's aesthetic decisions. The displays of Flemish styled paintings and tapestries including the *Retablo de San Juan Bautista* in Miraflores communicated Castilian power through regionally specific visual language associated with Isabel's desired allies. The deliberate importation of a Northern European aesthetic into the Castilian milieu was enabled by Isabel's economic policies encouraging trade between Iberia and Northern Europe,

[258] Rubin, *Isabella of Castile: The First Renaissance Queen*, 406.
[259] Prescott, *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella*, 3: 71.

further reinforcing the Iberian perception of Flemish luxury goods as articulating a specifically Isabelline message.[260]

Flemish Fetish as Threat

The complications faced by Isabel and Fernando in dealing with Philip the Handsome epitomize the dangers inherent to invocations of foreign culture. During Philip and Juana's return to Spain to be crowned the official heirs to the united Spanish kingdoms, Isabel attempted to accommodate her son-in-law's appetite for luxurious courtly life. She lifted the sumptuary laws of 1494 that banned ordinary citizens from wearing silks, bright colors, or gold trim, and encouraged Castilians to order new clothes in the latest fashion and the brightest colors.[261] She was unable to convince Philip of her court's

[260] M. I. d. Val Valdivieso, "Medina del Campo en la época de los Reyes Católicos," in *Historia de Medina del Campo y su tierre* (Valladolid: Ayuntamiento de Medina del Campo, 1986), 231-317; M.-T. Alvarez, "The Art Market in Renaissance Spain: From Flanders to Castile" (University of Southern California, 2003).

[261] A. Dennis, *Seek the Darkness: The Story of Juana la Loca*, 3rd ed.(Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1956), 74. For sumptuary laws more generally, see F. E. Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation and Personal Regulation in England*, *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1926); J. M. Vincent, *Costume and Conduct in the Laws of Basel, Bern, and Zurich 1370-1800*, 2nd ed.(New York: Greenwood, 1969); D. Owen-Hughes, "Sumptuary Laws and Social Relations in Renaissance Italy," in *Disputes and Settlements: Law and Human Relations in the West*, ed. J. Bossy, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 71-86; R. Benhamou, "The Restraint of Excessive Apparel: England 1337-1604," *Dress* 15 (1989): 27-37; R. Rainey, "Dressing Down the Dressed Up: Reproving Feminine Attire in Renaissance Florance," in *Renaissance Society and Culture: Essays in Honour of Eugene F. Rice, Jr.*, ed. J. Monfasani and R. Musto, (New York: Ithaca Press, 1991), 217-237; Bridgeman, "'Pagar le Pompe': Why Sumptuary Laws did not Work," 209-211.

sophistication, and he proclaimed Castilian hospitality inferior to that of both the Burgundian and Parisian courts.[262] The attitudes of both Isabel and Philip reveal an awareness of the complexities of different court traditions in the early sixteenth century. Isabel's attempts to emulate Burgundian custom reveals her own awareness of the differences between the two cultures. Unlike the usurpation of Muslim dress, the invocation of Northern European aesthetics did not coincide with a broader Iberian tradition of perceived cultural supremacy. Flemish forms also presented a potential threat to Castilian proto-nationalistic sensibilities. This anxiety of difference manifested itself at the Castilian court when Isabel's demise led to rampant fear of being overrun with Flemish courtiers unsympathetic to the peticularites of the Iberian experience.[263]

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[262] Rubin, *Isabella of Castile: The First Renaissance Queen*, 394-399. The perception of Spanish dress as somber is also expressed in William Makefyr's letter to Roger Darcy and Giles Alyngton dated January 17, 1506. The letter was written on occasion of Philip's sojourn in England with his brother-in-law Henry VII after his voyage from the Low Countries to Castile was postponed by a storm. Makefyrr describes the bright silks, cloth of gold, and purple velvet workn by the members of the English court, while Juana's Spanish entourage remained dressed in black with limited embellishment. J. Gairdner, ed. *The Paston Letters*, 2nd ed. (London: Sutton, 1986). Published in Monnas, *Merchants, Princes and Painters*, 307.

[263] Rubin, *Isabella of Castile: The First Renaissance Queen*, 412. Similarly, some Castilians expressed hostility toward incorporation into the empire of Charles V and even into a united kingdom of "Spain" with Aragon. H. Pietschmann, "El problema del 'nacionalismo' en España en la edad moderna. La resistencia de Castilla contra el Emperador Carlos V," *Hispania* 180 (1992): 83-106; I. A. A. Thompson, "Castile, Spain and the Monarchy: The Political Community from *Patria Natural* to *Patria Nacional*," in *Spain, Europe, and the Atlantic World: Essays in Honour of John H. Elliott*, ed. R. Kagan and G. Parker, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 125-159.

The sumptuousness of Burgundian court culture communicated via Franco-Flemish visual style also triggered cultural apprehension over the shifting social implications of wealth. Instead of material goods functioning as an indicator of social position, it became possible to obtain status through personal public displays of wealth including Northern European styled objects.[264] For the nobles and urban elite, recognition could be gained by demonstrating economic power through luxurious urban residences, monumental burial chapels, and large public altarpieces. As the Castilian economy prospered, wealthy citizens and courtiers embraced the Hispano-Flemish aesthetics of Isabel's court in the commissioning of Northern European styled altarpieces.[265] The nobles also held their own courtly displays. The uke of Alba hosted a joust where all the knights attempted to impress the monarchs by donning the most elaborate armor, many of which referenced the exploits of the Knights of the Round Table.[266]

The broader infatuation with luxury goods, both in their physical manifestations at courtly spectacle and depicted visually in Hispano-Flemish imagery, created a moral hazard by contradicting the traditional Christian

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[264] J. A. Maravall, *El mundo social de "La Celestina"* (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1964), 66; J. A. Maravall, *Antiguos y modernos: La idea de progreso en el desarrollo inicial de una sociedad* (Madrid: Sociedad de Estudios y Publicaciones 1966); Kroesen, *Staging the Liturgy*, 362.
[265] M. J. Gómez Bárcena, *Retablos flamencos en España* (Madrid: Historia, 1991), 6.
[266] Flores, *Crónica incompleta de los Reyes Católicos, 1469-1476*, 164-169.

affinity for ascetic devotion. While visiting the army during the siege of Granada, Isabel felt that the *grandées* were too ostentatious in their personal effects. The silk tents trimmed in gold thread, embossed armor, and gold plate conflicted with the holy mission of the military campaign.[267] The concerns over secular wealth trumping religious devotion coincided with broader understandings of the economic travesties of Enrique IV's reign as resulting from a laxity in religious homogeny. Isabel set out to curb this behavior across her kingdom by decreeing new sumptuary laws.[268] Nor was Isabel herself immune to such criticism. After the lavish celebrations of the treaty of Barcelona, Isabel's confessor Hernando de Talavera wrote to the queen criticizing her displays and the implied personal vanity:

> I do not judge the gifts and the favors, though to be good and proper they should be moderate. Nor the hours of supping and lunching at Your Highnesses table. . . nor the expenses of coats and new dresses although whosoever overdid it does not escape blame. But what in my view offended God. . . was the dances, specially by one who should not have danced. . . and furthermore the license of French knights mingling with Castilian ladies at supper, and each one taking whomsoever he would by the rein. . . Oh how inspired the French will be by Castilian

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[267]Pulgar, *Cronica de los senores Reyes Catolicos*, 115.

[268] García y García de Castro, *Virtudes de la reina católica*, 364; B. F. Weissberger, "'Me atrevo a escribir asi': Confessional Politics in the Letters of Isabel I and Hernando de Talavera," in *Women at Work in Spain: From the Middle Ages to Early Modern Times*, ed. M. S. a. C. Benito-Vessels, (New York: Peter Lang, 1998), 154. Monnas states that sumptuary laws were instituted by the church as a restraint on immodesty while state sumptuary laws were intended to cut down on the expenses of extravagance. Monnas, *Merchants, Princes and Painters*. Isabel's laws intended to address both moral and economic realities.

> decorum and gravity!. . . God knows how open I keep my eyes to watch the ground your chopines tread.[269]

Isabel was quick to defend her choices, arguing that as queen it was necessary to convey the impression that Castile was a strong and wealthy kingdom, foremost among the kingdoms of Europe and therefore not easily intimidated.[270] Isabel's defense of the courtly spectacle explicitly reveals the usually implicit connection between courtly life and political power and the necessity of utilizing visual culture in the construction of monarchical identity.

And yet, Isabel was also acutely aware of the ability to invoke ascetic behavior as a testament to and reflection of her own moral standing. In July of 1491 Isabel's tent at the military camp outside of Granada caught fire, consuming her clothes, jewels, dishes, ornaments, and other luxury items. El Cápitan offered to Isabel his wife's attire so that the queen could maintain her regal appearance. However, almost immediately following this testament to the importance of sumptuary display news arrived of the death of Isabel's son-in-law Prince Alonso of Portugal. Isabel immediately exchanged the finery for darkly colored unembellished mourning clothes.[271] Nor was this a singular

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[269] García y García de Castro, *Virtudes de la reina católica*, 364. Translation by Rubin, 311. D. Clemencin, *Elogio de la Reina Catolica Doña Isabel*, *Memorias de la real Academia de la Historia* (Madrid: Impr. de I. Sancha, 1820), 364-366; Anderson, *Hispanic Costume*, 139.
[270] Ibid.
[271] W. Irving, *A Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1988), 379.

example. Throughout her reign Isabel took pride in pursuing the traditional, humble, womanly occupations of spinning, weaving, and embroidery, sewing all of Fernando's shirts.[272] Isabel's failure to satisfy Philip the Handsome during her attempts to replicate Burgundian court customs suggests that even in her most ardent emulations, her actions were moderated to accommodate specifically Castilian sensibilities. The importance of elevating spiritual riches above earthly riches coincided with the devotional literature popular at this time. Isabel sought to reform religious institutions, specifically the cloistering of nuns so as to combat secular influence on the sisters by restricting their access to the outside world.[273] When the queen visited the convents she led by example, personifying her reforms by wearing modest clothes, accompanied by few attendants, carrying a rosary, book of hours, spindles, and needles. She prayed daily with the nuns, ate simple food at their table, spun wool, and conversed on the value of religious commitment. Talavera evoked this ideal when during his first confession with the queen he refused to kneel in her presence because as God's representative it was more fitting for the queen to

[272] Rubin, *Isabella of Castile: The First Renaissance Queen*, 87.
[273] Mir, *Hernando de Talavera, Alejo Venegas, Franciso de Osuna, Alfonso de Madrid*, 57-70; O. González Hernández, "Fr. Hernando de Talavera: Un aspect nuevo de su personalidad," *Hispania sacra* 13 (1960): 143-174; Lehfeldt, "Ruling Sexuality," 46.

kneel before him.[274] The monk was also famed for his rigid disapproval of fine foods, dancing, ostentatious clothing, and jewelry.

Like Isabel's magnificence, these moments of reserve were intended for public consumption. The power-play interactions between the queen and her confessor, including the criticism of Isabel's dancing, were including in royally sponsored chronicles even though they seemingly criticized the patron's actions.[275] This image of Isabel's restraint was especially powerful as it answered to traditional assumptions of feminine excess. Knowledge of Isabel's submission to a man of the church and frugality framed her authority in the contemporary hierarchy of male privilege, emphasizing her as traditional and saintly in virtue.

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[274] J. d. Sigüenza, *Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Bailly-Bailliére 'e Hijos, 1907-9); F. Fernández, *Fray Hernando de Talavera: Confesor de los Reyes Católicos y primer arzobispo de Granada* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 1942), 17.

[275] Ever since Juan de Mena, secretary of Juan II, was granted the post *coronista del rey* the Castilian crown employed royal chroniclers who produced officially sanctioned accounts of the monarchy. Although the royal chroniclers were charged with accurately portraying events, it was understood that the monarch would be portrayed in the best possible light. Shortly after her ascent to the throne, Isabel dismissed the scholars currently appointed to the post and installed others of her own choosing. She compensated the post with a salary of 40,000 mrs. per year. The royal chronicles therefore both provide an historical account of her reign and exemplify her propaganda strategy. Tate, "Mythology in Spanish Historiography of the Middle Ages and Renaissance," 1-16; R. Tate, "El cronista real castellano durante el siglo quince," in *Homenaje a Pedro Sainz Rodríguez: Repertorios, textos, y comentarios*, ed. J. L. Vives and P. Sáinz Rodríguez, (Madrid: Fundacíon Universitaria Española, 1986), 659-668; R. Kagan, "Clio and the Crown: Writing History in Habsburg Spain," in *Spain, Europe, and the Atlantic World: Essays in Honour of John H. Elliott*, ed. R. Kagan and G. Parker, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 73-99.

Isabel then mobilized her moral capital to encourage economic moderation among her royal peers. When Catherine of Aragon traveled to England to wed Prince Arthur, she was accompanied by a large quantity of luxury goods. However, Isabel urged Henry VII through her ambassadors not to spend an exorbitant amount of coin on the wedding celebration, and instead to prudently save the funds for the impending military action in Italy and the imminent threat of Turkish invasion of Venice pleaing:

> I am told that the king, my brother, has ordered great preparations to be made and that much money will be spent upon her reception and her wedding. I am pleased to hear it, because it shows the magnificent grandeur of my brother and because demonstrations of joy at the reception of my daughter are naturally agreeable to me. Nevertheless, it would be more in accordance with my feelings and with the wishes of my Lord [Fernando] if the expenses were moderate. We do not wish that our daughter should be the cause of any loss to England neither in money, nor in any other respect. . . We therefore beg the King, our brother, to moderate the expenses. Rejoicings may be held but we ardently implore him that the substantial part of the festival should be his love.[276]

The consumption of Flemish luxury goods and emulation of the ducal pageantry was balanced with Isabel's concurrent presentation of feminine restraint. Perhaps these very real concerns over the moral hazard of Northern European luxuriousness accounted for the persistence of Iberian visual modes

[276] G. A. Bergenroth, ed. *Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, Relating to the Negotiations Between England and Spain: Preserved in the Archives at Simancas and Elsewhere*, 12 vols. (London: Longman, Green, Longman & Roberts, 1868), 253.

even as the Franco-Flemish visual style spread like wildfire across Castile. In the case of the *Retablo de San Juan Bautista,* the balance between Northern European aesthetic visual language and the Castilian *retablo* format facilitated an awareness for the fifteenth-century Castilian viewer of the moral hazard of sumptuous behavior implicit in the contrast of John the Baptist to Salome and Herod. Even as the display of luxurious materials in the depicted space, such as the extiles worn by the angel in the central panel and Herodias to the left, celebrates the economic prosperity of the wool trade, the narrative focus of the *retablo* emphasizes the spirituality of asceticism. This message is underscored by Herod's nervous gesture of tugging at his gold collar as he receives the head of John the Baptist (fig. 60) as he sits beneath an historiated capital depicting the murder of Abel (fig. 61).

Chapter 4: Private Propaganda

Upon the death of Isabel the Catholic in 1504, an inventory was taken of her considerable estate. Among the many books, tapestries, and art objects recorded are forty-seven small paintings that were located in a cupboard, known collectively as the *Retablo de Isabel* (Appendix E).[277] Because the inventory describes these panels as being stored together and includes the notation that they are all equally sized, the panels appear to have been part of a cohesive unit separate from the other art objects owned by the queen. The majority of the panels depict events from the life of Christ, predominately images of Christ's ministry and passion, although a handful depict scenes from the life of the Virgin and others represented. The uneven number of panels, as well as the exclusion of extremely important scenes such as the Resurrection, suggest that the project was unfinished at the time of the queen's death.[278]

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[277] Ministerio de educación, culturea y deporte de España. Archivo general de Simancas. CMC 1a época, leg. 192, fol. 20. Published in Justi, "Juan de Flandes, ein niederländischer Hofmaler Isabella der Katholischen," 161; F. J. Sánchez Cantón, "El retablo de la reina católica," *Archivo español de arte y arqueologia* 6 (1930): 99-101; Ishikawa, *The Retablo de Isabel la Católica*, 167-168; Silva Maroto, *Juan de Flandes*, 469-470.

[278] Although Isabel's possession of the panels may seem to indicate that the project was complete, nothing is known concerning the working arrangements of her court painters. Because Juan de Flandes was on an annual salary, it is unclear when he began production of the *Retablo de Isabel,* where his workshop was primarily located, when Michel Sittow became involved, how the work was divided between the two painters, the timeframe for completion, the mechanisms for turning completed panels over to Isabel, or even how long she had had the paintings before her death. The itinerant nature of the Castilian court would have certainly complicated the production. It is likely that the painters created the small panels while also

Upon completion of the project, the panels would likely have been installed into a Spanish altarpiece format known as a *retablo mayor*.[279] The project occupied a liminal space, swerving as both a private devotional object and an altarpiece within the liturgical tradtion.

The twenty-seven extant panels, collectively known as the *Retablo de Isabel* though divided between seven countries across two continents, reveal the scope and style of the overall project. The images, such as *Noli me Tangere* (fig. 62), are painted with a vibrant palette. Brightly dressed figures are set into green and yellow landscapes and shaded interiors. The small size of the panels, roughly eight by six inches, does not preclude a wealth of detail including a variety of physiognomies, emotions, interior decorations, and inscriptions. Moreover, the panels emphasize the particulars of the Iberian experience with

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fulfilling their other duties to the crown in many different locales. If so, than it is possible that the paintings were given to Isabel as they were completed instead of being held in the artist's workshop until the entire project was ready for installation. Isabel could then use the individual paintings in her private devotion as they became available. The *retablo* frame for large Castilian altarpieces was often contracted separately from the paintings and sculptures, providing a temporal separation between the production of images and the final installation. For example, the *retablo mayor* in the cathedral of Palencia was altered multiple times by the patron before its installation. The amassing of many different components from several artists required the patron to take possession of paintings and sculptures throughout the production process. A contrasting view is presented by Lorne Campbell, who states that there is no reason to believe the project was incomplete, though he does acknowledge that "forty-seven. . . is an awkward number and the lack of a Resurrection is disturbing." Instead, Campbell suggests that the act of possession by Isabel implicates the completion of the project, with the possibility that some panels were lost in advance of the inventory. Campbell, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Fifteenth Century Netherlandish Schools*, 264.

[279] The original intention of the panels for an altarpiece and implications for reception will be discussed in chapter 5.

figures of multiple ethnicities and dusty landscapes reminiscent of the Castilian Meseta and Alpujarra mountains. Visually, the paintings translate Juan de Flandes' Netherlandish style into a Castilian vocabulary.

The imagery of the panels reflects Isabel's socio-political goal of creating a devout kingdom. Isabel patronized artists and writers who cultivated orthodox devotional practices among the populace. Central to this aim was the importation of concepts related to the *devotio moderna* popular in Northern Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[280] As the creation of a religiously unified Spain was believed to positively impact political and economic realities, Isabel's support of popular devotional practices was an integral aspect of her broader self-promotion and legitimization. The popularity of Flemish artistic styles in this context, exemplified by Juan de Flandes' involvement in the *Retablo de Isabel* along with fellow Netherlandish court painter Michael Sittow, reveals fifteenth-century conceptions of the efficacy of specific stylistic modes in facilitating communion with the divine.

[280] The bibliography on the d*evotio moderna* is extensive. For an introduction to Northern European devotional trends, see J. Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York: Zone Books, 1998); C. W. Bynum, *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

The *Retablo de Isabel*

As one of Isabel's most important commissions, the *Retablo de Isabel* occupied her two primary court painters. The division of panels between Juan de Flandes and Michel Sittow is not noted on the original inventory. Only two panels, the *Ascension* and *Assumption of the Virgin,* are known to have been created by Sittow and it has been assumed that Juan produced the majority of the images between his arrival in Castile in 1496 and Isabel's death in 15045.[281]

It is also unclear in the documentation how Isabel intended the completed project to be installed. When completed, the Castilian queen's altarpiece would have most likely corresponded to the fifteenth-century high altarpiece format. r*etablos mayors* in Castile consisted of a large number of narrative panels of equal size arranged into a grid.[282] The *retablo mayor* of the 'old' Salamanca Cathedral (fig. 97) is composed of fifty-three narrative panels that stretch across the choir and reach up toward the vaults. The panels are unified through a repetition of color, scale, and framing elements that allow the piece to function as a single object. The majority of the scenes concern Christ's

[281] Ishikawa argues for a chronological division of the panals based upon carful consideration of the underdrawing and final compositions. Ishikawa, *The Retablo de Isabel la Católica*, 64-66.
[282] In contrast, private chapel altarpieces were often composed of a large central image flanked by smaller narrative scenes and topped with a depiction of the crucifixion. Many side altars were dedicated to saints. For a discussion of the *retablo mayor* tradition in Castile and comparison with other Iberian altarpiece types, see Berg Sobré, *Behind the Altar Table*, 133-155; Kroesen, *Staging the Liturgy*, 86-89, 95-98, 102-108, 110-128.

ministry and Passion.[283] An installed high altarpiece often included a *banco,* or prudella, composed of individual saints (fig. 98). The images of the *banco* are smaller in scale than the narrative images above (fig. 99).[284] The use of an iconic format, as opposed to a narrative one, separates the *banco* from the remainder of the *retablo.* The placement of saints at the lowest visual level emphasizes their function as intercessors between the worshiper and the divine. The interpretation of the *Retablo de Isabel* as a *retablo mayor* is supported by the large number of panels and the marked emphasis on the Christological narrative. Moreover, notations in Isabel's inventory suggest the creation of a *banco:* the images of "Sts. Michael and Gabriel" and of "Sts. John, James the Major, Peter, and Paul." The description of panels with two and four figures without reference to an increase in size suggests a smaller scale than the individual narrative panels. The identification of the figures by their name as opposed to an event suggests that these panels were iconic in format. These descriptions imply that these panels likely correspond to the traditional *banco* format in the completed project. The inclusion of panels for a *banco* in the inventory is important for the reconstruction of the final project as it indicates that the

[283] The predominance of ministry and passion subjects in Isabel's small devotional panels indicates its assemblage as as a *retablo mayor* has been suggested by Joaquin Yarza Luaces and Chiyo Ishikawa. Yarza Luaces, *Los Reyes Católicos: Paisaje artístico de una monarquía*, 91; Ishikawa, *The Retablo de Isabel la Católica*, 75.
[284] Berg Sobré, *Behind the Altar Table*, 49-51, 133-158.

panels were intended to be installed into an altarpiece upon completion of the series, and were not intended to remain a collection of separate images intended to be viewed independently. In its final state, the project would have incorporated framing elements to unify the pieces into a cohesive whole.

After Isabel's demise the panels were sold in order to settle the queen's estate. The original inventory was used to document this process, and includes notations as to the purchaser and the price (Appendix E). The panels were distributed among three buyers. One panel, the *Christ and the Woman from Samaria* was purchased by Diego Fernández de Córdoba. Fernández was a close associate of the Catholic monarchs who after his significant role in the conquest of Granada was named Alcaide de los Donçeles, or Head of the Pages. Francisca Enriquez de Luna, Marchioness of Denia and cousin of King Fernando of Aragon, purchased ten panels representing the major Christological scenes.[285] Diego Flores, an agent for Margaret of Austria, purchased thirty-two scenes.[286] The four remaining panels, the *Doubting Thomas,* the *Christ Appearing to his Mother with the Souls from Limbo,* the *Last*

[285] Francisca Enriquez de Luna was the great-granddaughter of Alvaro de Luna, favorite of Juan II. Her purchase of the panels provides further evidence of the reconciliation between the crown and the de Luna family.

[286] The large number of panels purchased by Diego Flores resulted in the creation of an additional list: Archivo general de Simancas, Contaduría mayor, 1a época, leg. 189, 3v-4r. Published in Ishikawa, *The Retablo de Isabel la Católica*, 169; Silva Maroto, *Juan de Flandes*, 470-471.

Judgment, and the later *Coronation of the Virgin*, were not sold and do not appear in any later Castilian inventories. Presumably, they left the royal collection at this time.[287]

While the panels sold to the Marchioness of Denia and Diego Fernández disappear from the historical record after their acquisition, those purchased by Margaret of Austria are well documented. Upon her receipt of the panels, Margaret kept them in a wooden box in her private bedroom.[288] It was at this time that the panels were shown to Albrecht Dürer during his trip to the Netherlands. In a diary entry of 1521 he writes: "and on Friday Lady Margaret showed me all her beautiful things, and among them I saw about forty small pictures in oils, the like of which for cleanness and excellence I have never seen."[289] Shortly thereafter, however, Margaret attempted to recast the panels into a coherent narrative and devotional structure. Initially she separated out the two panels of the *Ascension* and the *Assumption of the Virgin,* which are identified in her 1514 inventory as by Michel Sittow who was at that time her

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[287] In the late nineteenth century, the *Christ Appearing to his Mother with the Souls from Limbo* entered the National Gallery, London, from a private collection. See Campbell, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Fifteenth Century Netherlandish Schools*, 260. A *Coronation of the Virgin* attributed to Michael Sittow entered the Louvre in 1966, although the larger panel size of ten by seven inches renders the identification of the painting with the *Retablo de Isabel* problematic. Ishikawa, *The Retablo de Isabel la Católica*, 165.

[288] D. Eichberger, *Leben mit Kunst, Wirken durch Kunst: Sammelwesen und Hofkunst unter Margarete von Österreich, Regentin der Niederlande* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), 235.

[289] A. Dürer, *Records of Journeys to Venice and the Low Countries*, ed. L. Einstein, *The Humanist's Library* (Boston: The Merrymount Press, 1913), 91.

court painter. These panels were mounted as a diptych with leather covers.[290] In 1527 twenty of the panels were installed in an elaborate silver-gilt frame adorned with heraldic devices. The panels were organized into a diptych format, with nine panels on each wing, which was then topped with a removable second diptych composed of the two panels by Sittow.[291] The altarpiece was installed into the *Riche Cabinet* among the other objects of Margaret's art collection.[292] Upon her death in 1530, she bequeathed the altarpiece to her nephew Charles V. The Holy Roman Emperor sent the altarpiece to his wife, Isabel of Portugal, in Madrid where it re-entered the Castilian royal collection. Later, the altarpiece was moved to El Escorial.[293]

Personalization and Privatization

[290] Trizna, *Michel Sittow*, 91-94.
[291] A description of the frame is included in a marginal note of the 1524 inventory. H. Zimmerman, "Urkunden und Regesten aus dem K.u.K. Haus-, Hof- und Staats-Archiv in Wien herausgegeben unter Mitwirkung des K.u.K Sectionrathes und Vice-Direktors dieses Archivs Joseph Ritter von Fiedler (Fortsetzung)," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 3 (1885): 82-152.
[292] Eichberger, *Leben mit Kunst*, 241-243. It is important to note that the translation of the panels from Margaret's private chambers, the probable location of her devotional practices, to the location of her art collection in the *Riche Cabinet* suggests a change in use. It is likely that while in Margaret's chamber the panels provided loci for spiritual meditations, but that this was no longer the case once they were formally integrated into her art collection.
[293] Ishikawa, *The Retablo de Isabel la Católica*, 15. During the turbulent nineteenth century, five of the panels were removed from the royal collection: the *Marriage at Cana,* the *Temptation of Christ*, the *Christ Appearing to St. Paul,* the *Baptism of Christ*, and the *Last Supper.* The remaining fifteen are located at the Palacio Real in Madrid.

The surviving panels of the *Retablo de Isabel* are representative of the fifteenth-century tradition of tailoring the iconography of personal devotional objects to the specific individual. The inclusion of heraldic emblems such as the arms of Castile in the *Calming of the Storm* (fig. 63) and *Christ Appears to Mary Alone* (fig. 64) transform the depicted space into loci of Isabel's patronage. Rare narrative moments, such as the *Si Ergo Me Quaeritas* of "if you seek me" from a brief interaction between Christ and the Evangelist in John's passion narrative, suggest the importance of the personal preferences of the Catholic queen in the development of the narrative structure and iconography.[294] The location of the panels at the time of Isabel's death, in a chest located in her private residence, further suggests that the panels may have been used individually as meditative tools during private devotional practices. Their small size and high level of detail, in many ways reminiscent of manuscript illuminations, would have been ideal for individual contemplation. It is certainly possible that by commissioning a vast cycle of Christ's life Isabel would have had constantly at her disposal any possible scene for her private prayers.[295] The assessment of the panels as private devotional tools is also supported by Margaret of Austria's

[294] The phrase "Si Ergo Me Quaeritas" appears in the John 18:8, though the panel does not survive and the text does not correspond to an identifiable image tradition.
[295] Campbell, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Fifteenth Century Netherlandish Schools*, 264. Campbell's assessment is hindered by the lack of similar commissions of devotional panels in fifteenth-century Castile.

initial placement of the panels in her private chamber where they functioned as meditative aids. Margaret may have even been familiar with the original intentions for the project after to her years at the Castilian court as the future queen of the united Spanish kingdoms.

One of the primary ways in which the *Retablo de Isabel* reflected fifteenth-century devotional efficacy is through the depiction of biblical events from the distant past as occurring in spaces and with objects from the viewer's experience. The inclusion of recognizable contemporary clothing, architecture, and even landscapes modernized the biblical past and better enabled the conceptual insertion of the devotee into the narrative action, wrapping the viewer in the devotional present.[296] The mysteries of the faith, such as the incarnation, are depicted not merely as stories from history but continually occurring in the hear-and-now actively revealing God's presence in contemporary life. The inclusion of these markers of the Castilian present in Isabel's devotional objects is evidence of the queen's strong identification with contemporary religious theories.[297]

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[296] The present tense presentation of biblical history was perpetuated by fourteenth-century devotional texts including Ludolf of Saxony's *Vita Christi* and the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* by Pseudo-Bonaventura before being incorporated into the *Exercita Spiritualia* by St. Ignatius of Loyola.

[297] C. Ishikawa, "Hernando de Talavera and Isabelline Imagery," in *Queen Isabel I of Castile: Power, Patronage, Persona*, ed. B. F. Weissberger, (Woodbridge, UK: Tamesis, 2008), 71-82.

This tradition was also common among local Castilian images created for public consumption. For example, the *Birth of the Virgin* by Fernando Gallego from the *retablo mayor* of Santa María de Trujillo (fig. 65) presents saints Anne and Joachim as an affluent urban couple. Anne sits on a low bed with green hangings; the Virgin is attended by a wet nurse. A servant displays a platter of delicacies while small household vessels are carefully displayed throughout the interior. The six figures are dressed in fashionable garb similar to that found in portraits of Isabel herself (fig. 66).[298] The entire scene is set in a multi-roomed, multi-floored structure with a wooden beamed ceiling. Juan de Flandes continues this visual tradition in scenes such as the *Christ in the House of Simon* (fig. 3). The luxurious house of the Pharisee with its high vaulted ceiling, sculpted columns, and wall clock reflect the trimmings of contemporary life. The emphasis on creating a specifically modern space is further suggested by a comparison with the underdrawing as revealed through infrared reflectography (fig. 67). Originally, the barrel vault culminated in an antiquated Romanesque arch with blind arcade. The alteration to a slightly pointed arch with mullioned windows emphasized the importance of creating a truly

[298] The similarity in hairstyle and dress has enabled scholars to date the altarpiece to c. 1490 in the absence of written documentation. A. Dotseth, B. Anderson, and M. Roglán, eds., *Fernando Gallego and His Workshop: The Altarpiece from Ciudad Rodrigo: Paintings from the Collection of the University of Arizona Museum of Art* (Dallas: Meadows Museum, SMU, 2008), 54-55.

modern interior.[299] The depiction of a modern space is furthered through the luxurious dress of Mary Magdalene with green slit sleeves popular in the late fifteenth-century.[300]

While markers of modernity such as contemporary dress and architecture would have resonated with viewers from a multitude of social strata, the luxuriousness of the scene may have been intended to more accurately reflect the specific environments of the queen. This is not to suggest that the interior space is intended as an accurate reflection of a particular courtly interior. However, when compared with other versions of the story such as the *Retablo de la Magdalena* now in the Museo de Salamanca (fig. 68) and the r*etablo mayor* of Ciudad Rodrigo by Maestro Bartolomé (fig. 69) the space created by Juan de Flandes is more luxurious. While Bartolomé frames his interior with illusionistic sculpted foliage, the decoration is limited to the external margins of the space. The interior of the composition, though moderately decorated contrasts the space created by Juan de Flandes that includes multi-colored marble columns, carved rib vaulting, and sumptuous plate. The decorative elements penetrate into the center of the composition. If

[299] P. Crossley, "Medieval Architecture and Meaning: The Limits of Iconography," *Burlington Magazine* 130 (1988): 116-121; C. Harbison, *Jan van Eyck: Play of Realism* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991), 151-157.
[300] Anderson, *Hispanic Costume*, 191-200.

the devotional aim was to interweave the biblical narrative with Castilian lived experience, it is quite sensible that the interiors created for the public space of a *retablo mayor* or even the side chapel as suggested by the *Retablo de la Magdalena*, present a different economic reality than an object created specifically for the devotion of the queen. As such, the plethora of extremely luxurious interiors depicted in the queen's panels creates a formidable devotional tool, one that more accurately reflects Isabel's specific experiences.

At the same time, the emphasis on luxuriousness might also carry symbolic weight that could be meditated upon during Isabel's private contemplation. Similar to the *Retablo de San Juan Bautista* at Miraflores, the overt references to luxury in the *Retablo de Isabel* create a conceptual contrast between the opulence of worldly goods and ascetic spiritual riches. This contrast is apparent in *Christ in the House of Simon* (fig. 3) in the humility of Mary Magdalene. The posture of the three figures derives from Luke 7:36-50. During the dinner at the house of the Pharisee Simon, Christ tells the parable of the money lender who has forgiven the debts of two debtors. In comparing economic wealth with spiritual wealth, the parable furthers the narrative contrast between the actions of Mary Magdalene and the implications of the surroundings. As such, the scene invokes visually Christ's words to Mary

"your faith has saved you; go in peace" (Luke 7:50). The theme of spiritual devotion trumping worldly affairs would have been pertinent for a queen who was reprimanded by her confessor for overt courtly displays on at least one occasion.[301]

In contrast to the luxuriousness of the contemporary setting, Christ sits at the head of the table dressed in a plain blue robe staring blankly into the distance. His simple garment differs strongly with those of Simon and Mary not only in the sumptuousness of the fabric but also in the cut. Unlike the other figures, Christ wears a simple shift indicative of biblical time. The separation between Christ and the other inhabitants of the room is heightened by his distant expression. While Simon turns towards Jesus and clearly focuses upon his face, Christ looks off beyond the border of the picture with the blank expression of internal contemplation. Much like the contemporaneous trappings of the space, Christ's expression and position inhibit the panel from functioning as pure *historia.* Whereas the temporal shift from past to present creates an atmosphere of similarity between the events depicted and the experience of the viewer, the figure of Christ catapults the scene into the realm of time eternal. Christ is not present only as a historical person who interacted

[301] Weissberger, "'Me atrevo a escribir asi': Confessional Politics in the Letters of Isabel I and Hernando de Talavera," 147-173.

with other specific persons in the past, but as an iconic three-quarter portrait of the savior who embodies a specific ideal. The anachronistic contradiction creates a narrative set in contemporary, historical, and eternal time. This ambiguity allows the viewer to be emotionally present in the scene even while recognizing the uniqueness of Christ's character. When meditating on the narrative during her devotion, Isabel was encouraged to emulate the humility of Mary Magdalene in order to receive Christ's blessing.

The desire to tailor the imagery in the devotional panels so as to increase the emotional accessibility of the narratives during the queen's private devotion also resulted in the inclusion of royal portraits in the compositions. The richly dressed figure in the *Entry to Jerusalem* has been noted for his resemblance to Fernando of Aragon (figs. 70-71).[302] The couple in the *Marriage at Cana* may represent Prince Juan and Margaret of Austria (figs. 72-73). This identification is based not only upon visual similarity between the figures and their portraits but also to the daisies, or *margaritas,* that adorn the bride's costume.[303] The possible inclusion of the likenesses of members of the royal family in Isabel's panels emphasizes the contemporaneous nature of the narrative. The use of modern dress suggests that instead of envisioning the Catholic monarchs, their

[302] Ishikawa, *The Retablo de Isabel la Católica*, 99; Silva Maroto, *Juan de Flandes*, 192-194.
[303] Ishikawa, *The Retablo de Isabel la Católica*, 92

son, and daughter-in-law as inhabiting the biblical past, masquerading as players in the narrative, the salvation story is occurring in late fifteenth-century Castile. This personalization is continued in two additional panels that do not contain a royal likeness but do include the Castilian coat of arms (figs. 63-64). These emblems transform the depicted space into Isabel's personal possessions. As demonstrated by the decoration of the church of San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo (fig. 74), Isabel did not shy away from utilizing her coat of arms to mark a space as under her personal patronage. Thus the ship in the *Calming of the Sea* is no longer a generic ship tossed atop the waves. It has been re-cast as Isabel's ship, under her patronage, and ostensibly inhabited by the biblical personages with her permission. The building in *Christ Appears to Mary Alone* is likewise transformed into a residence of the kings of the united Spanish kingdoms.[304] These factors reveal that the temporal-physical space depicted in the altarpiece

[304] The use of heraldry to transform the depicted space of panel paintings was not unique to Isabel or even to Castile. Coats of arms and personal symbols often appeared in the fictive space of fifteenth-century Netherlandish painting, for example in the *Merode Altarpiece* by Robert Campin and the *Diptych of Maarten van Nieuwenhove* by Hans Memling. J. De Coo, "A Medieval Look at the Merode Annunciation," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 4 (1981): 114-132; D. De Vos, *Hans Memling: The Complete Works* (Ghent: Ludion, 1994), 279; Châtelet, *Robert Campin, le Maître de Flámalle*, 93-113, 291-115; S. Kemperdick, *Der Meister von Flémalle: Die Werkstatt Robert Campins und Rogier van der Weyden* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), 77-99; Ainsworth and Christiansen, *From Van Eyck to Bruegel*, 195; J. C. Smith, *The Northern Renaissance* (New York: Phaidon Press Inc., 2004), 136-141; R. Falkenburg, "Hans Memling's Van Nieuwenhove Diptych: The Place of Prayer in Early Netherlanish Devotional Painting," in *Essays in Context, Unfolding the Netherlandish Diptych*, ed. J. O. Hand and R. Spronk, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 92-109; B. Lane, *Hans Memling: Master Painter in Fifteenth-Century Bruges* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2009), 267.

is not the generic "modern times" but a specific invocation and recreation of Isabel's experience. The clothing, architecture, familial visages, interior decoration, and landscape weave together to create an incredibly personalized devotional tool. It is Isabel's travels and experiences, subjects, and family that influence the composition. This personalization charges the devotional qualities of the altarpiece and enables specific modes of contemplation.

At the same time repetition between the panels condenses the temporal setting of the multiple narratives, collapsing the events into a singular "present." The repetition of clothing, exemplified by Mary Magdalene's gown with green sleeves and bright pink cloak depicted in the *Christ in the House of Simon* (fig. 3) and *Noli me Tangere* (fig. 62), eases recognition of the figure in individual scenes and would visually unify the panels when displayed together upon completion. Even as the temporal dimension is collapsed, the spatial dimension is expanded. Figures such as the dark skinned servant in the *Entry to Jerusalem* (figs. 70, 112) look out beyond the edges of the panel into an invisible lateral space.[305] Distant cropped architecture and cityscapes suggest an almost endless depth. The multitude of reflections in the armor of the

[305] For a discussion of similar figures in Flemish painting, see A. Acres, "Elsewhere in Netherlandish Painting," in *Tributes in Honor of James Marrow: Studies in Painting and Manuscript Illumination of the Late Middle Ages and Northern Renaissance*, ed. B. Brinkmann, J. Hamburger, and A. Korteweg, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 23-33.

Roman soldiers, slike those in the scene of *Christ Before Pilate* (fig. 75) reveals an equally vast extension of the viewer's space in front of the painting. The ability of Juan de Flandes to hint at large amounts of space beyond the borders of the small panels envelops the viewer in a complex yet familiar spatial environment.

Private Devotion in Castile

The specificity of detail along with the collapsing of temporal and spatial realities augmented the devotional capabilities of the panels. As devotional aids to the queen, the panels created by Juan de Flandes responded to the changing devotional practices in Isabelline Castile.

Although the religious movement known as the *devotio moderna* gained in popularity throughout the fourteenth century in Northern Europe, it did not spread to the Iberian Peninsula. Devotional guides were not popular in fifteenth-century Castile, nor was the subject of the life of Christ a common subject for vernacular texts. In fact, when Hernando de Talavera organized a reading list for the nuns of Ávila he recommended the *Vita Christi* by the Catalan monk Franscisc Ximenes from the past century because there had not been any recent treatises.[306] But that was to change under Isabel and Fernando. During their reign a whirlwind of activity produced numerous devotional

[306] González Hernández, "Fr. Hernando de Talavera: Un aspect nuevo de su personalidad," 157.

guides and Christological narratives.[307] Writers translated and popularized the writings of Thomas à Kempis and Ludolph of Saxony. As early as 1493 Isabel showed an interest in translating the latter's *Vita Christi* into Castilian.[308] The task was given to Ambrosio Montesino, one of the confessors to the monarchs. In 1501 and 1503, funds were dispersed by Isabel's treasurer to Montesino for the purchase of parchment, pigments, and gold for the production of an illuminated manuscript copy of the text for Isabel.[309] The text was also published in order to facilitate distribution across the kingdom (Acalá, 1502). Montesino presented the translation to the Catholic monarchs upon completion, recognizing their patronage of the project (fig. 76). A second translation of the *Vita Christi*, in rhymed verse, was created by Don Íñigo López de Mendoza y de la Vega in 1467-68.[310] Five other Castilian treatises on the life of Christ were published in the last years of Isabel's reign: El Comendador Román's *Coplas de la Pasión con la Resurección* (Toledo, 1490); Diego de San Pedro's *La Pasíon*

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[307] G. a. A. M. McKendric, "Visionaries and Affective Spirituality in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century," in *Cultural Encounters: The Impact of the Inquisition in Spain and the New World*, ed. M. E. P. a. A. J. Cruz, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 93-104; L. Delbrugge, *A Scholarly Edition of Andrés de Li's 'Thesoro de la passin' 1494* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 33-49.

[308] Liss, *Isabel the Queen*, 303. On the popularity of the *Vita Christi* across Europe, see T. Bestul, *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society* (Philidelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 52.

[309] Torre y del Cerro, *La casa de Isabel la Católica*, 2: 528, 585.

[310] First published in Zaragoza in 1483, the text printed in several editions. Mendoza, *Cancionero*, 66-67.

Trobada (Salamanca, 1492); Pedro Ximenes de Prexano's *Luzero de la Vida Cristiana* (Salamanca, 1493); Andrés de Lí's *Tesoro de la Pasión* (Zaragoza, 1494); and Juan de Padilla's *Retablo de la Vida de Cristo* (Seville, 1505). That these texts were produced under the queen's supervision is suggested by the prominence of these authors at her court. Íñigo de Mendoza, Marquis of Santillana, had been an advisor to Juan II and was the father of Isabel's advisor Cardinal Pedro Gónzalez de Mendoza. The *hidalgo* Diego de San Pedro served the prominent Isabelline nobles Don Juan Téllez-Girón Count of Ureña and Diego Fernández de Córdoba, Alcaide de los Donçeles, who purchased Isabel's *Christ and the Woman from Samaria* panel. *Luzero de la Vida Cristiana* was commissioned by Fernando from the Bishop of Coria specifically to address religious ignorance among the populace, while the *Tesoro de la Pasión* and the *Retablo de la Vida de Christo* are dedicated to the Catholic monarchs. The inclusion of all five works in Isabel's personal library suggests that these texts were supported by the queen and may have been utilized in her personal devotion.

It is highly likely that this new interest in the Life of Christ was, if not initiated, then at least heavily encouraged by the queen's confessor Hernando de Talavera. After being named bishop of Granada, Talavera introduced the printing industry to the city with a Castilian translation of Francesc Eiximenis'

Vita Christi.[311] It thus appears that the late fifteenth-century impulse to sponsor texts and images concerning the life of Christ was both a monarchical and a clerical priority.

These personal devotional texts urged the laity to meditate individually on the mysteries of the faith and were influenced by earlier Northern European models of devotional empathy.[312] For example, the *Imitatio Christi* by Thomas à Kempis encouraged the reader to "Shut the door behind you. . . Call Jesus, your beloved Friend, to join you. Remain with Him in your cell. Why? You won't find peace like this anywhere else in the world."[313] The theme of individual communication with Christ is furthered through the creation of a dialogue between Christ and the devotee. At times Jesus speaks directly to the reader saying "My dear friend, as strong as your pull's away from Me, that's the strength of My pull toward you. Desiring nothing outside the walls will give

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[311] Ishikawa, *The Retablo de Isabel la Católica*, 28; Ishikawa, "Hernando de Talavera and Isabelline Imagery," 71-82.

[312] It is interesting to note that this new path of spiritual interaction occurred even as the common people were further and further separated from the sacraments. For example, it became common to administer Holy Communion to the laity only on the most special of feast days such as Easter. Instead, laypersons were encouraged to venerate the sacrament visually, for example through a monstrance. That this practice was also common in Spain is attested to by the survival of several high altar pieces that incorporate into their structure windows through which the host would be continually visible, such as the high altar retable at the cathedral of Zaragoza. The increase in private lay devotion in Iberia was actively supported by Cardinals Talavera and Cisneros, who saw devotion as a path to conversion of Granada's Muslims. Cisneros sponsored the creation and distribution of both devotional tracts and devotional images. Kroesen, *Staging the Liturgy*, 399; Pereda, *Las imágenes de la discordia*, 258.

[313] T. à. Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ: How Jesus Wants Us to Live*, trans. W. Griffin (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, Inc., 2000), 37.

you peace inside the walls. Make the external surrender, and you'll be invited to join me."[314] The voice switches to the devotee shortly thereafter with the response "O Lord Jesus, Your life was such a small stretch in human history, and even that was despised by Humankind. Despite what the history of the world has said and done, grant that I may imitate You in all respects."[315] Writers began to de-communalize devotion by emphasizing the necessity of varying spiritual exercise from person to person, time to time, place to place, and mood to mood. Particular emphasis was placed upon Christ's life and bodily suffering during the passion.[316] Devotees focused upon the physicality of Christ's suffering, invoking a "somatic spirituality."[317] Thomas à Kempis encouraged the devotee to even enter a state of co-passion, stating "if you want to rule with Christ. . . you're going to have to suck it in and wade through the same muck as Christ. No one feels the Passion of Christ so deeply in his heart as the one who's committed himself to the same holy path of his Fair Lord."[318] Authors such as Ludolph of Saxony extolled the value of devotional vision in

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[314] Ibid., 211.
[315] Ibid., 212.
[316] On the phenomenological aspects of devotion, see J. Bennett, "Stigmata and Sense Memory: St. Francis and the Affective Image," *Art History* 24 (2001): 1-16; D. Elliott, "True Presence/False Christ: The Antinomies of Embodiment in Medieval Spirituality," *Medieval Studies* 64 (2002): 241-265; Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, 65-66; J. Boon, *The Mystical Science of the Soul: Medieval Cognition in Bernardino de Laredo's Recollection Method* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 29-34.
[317] Elliott, "True Presence/False Christ," 241.
[318] Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ: How Jesus Wants Us to Live*, 61, 83.

bringing biblical history into one's heart, specifically in accounts of the Christological narrative. Textual descriptions of the events from the life of Christ immersed the devotee in hyper-descriptive details. These were intended to spark an emotional response that affects the heart as opposed to a conception analyzed in the head.

Central to these aims was the image. The concept of *per visibilia ad invisibilia,* that is the use of the visible to access the invisible, perpetuated the idea that by looking at an image the viewer could imprint the content of that image upon the soul.[319] The role of visual culture in this system transcends the traditional mnemonic and pedagogical functions of visual culture.[320] Image

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[319] S. Ringbom, "Devotional Images and Imaginative Devotions: Notes on the Place of Art in Late Medieval Piety," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 73, 6 (1969): 153-170; H. Belting, "In Search of Christ's Body: Image or Imprint?," in *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation: Papers from a Colloquium held at the Bibliotheca Herziana, Rome and Villa Spelman, Florence, 1996*, ed. H. Kessler and G. Wolf, (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1998), 1-12; M. Camille, "Mimetic Identification and Passion Devotion in the Later Middle Ages: A Double Sided Panel by Meister Francke," in *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Culture*, ed. A. A. MacDonald, H. N. B. Ridderbos, and R. M. Schlusemann, (Grogingen: Egbert Forsten, 1998), 183-210; H. Kessler, "Configuring the Invisible by Copying the Holy Face," in *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation: Papers from a Colloquium held at the Bibliotheca Herziana, Rome and the Villa Spelman, Florence, 1996*, ed. H. Kessler and G. Wolf, (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1998), 129-151; R. N. Swanson, "Passion and Practice: the Social and Ecclesiastical Implications of Passion Devotions in the Late Middle Ages," in *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Culture*, ed. A. A. MacDonald, H. N. B. Ridderbos, and R. M. Schlusemann, (Groginen: Egbert Forsten, 1998), 1-30.

[320] Since the beginnings of Chrstianity, its theologians have expressed discomfort with images in religious practice. Pope Gregory the Great defended Christian images as the "books of the illiterate," that is as tools for the teaching of biblical stories to the uneducated laity. Images were also defended for their ability to remind viewers of the miracles of the faith, as well as for their ability to excite the emotions. D. Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1989), 162-163; C. Chazelle, "Pictures, Books, and the Illiterate: Pope Gregory's Letters to Serenus of Marseilles," *Word and Image* 6

contemplation led directly to the creation of empathy and the active spiritual participation in the content of the image.[321] In response to such understandings, small devotional paintings became a common possession.[322] The new medium of prints created even lower priced objects so that visual aids to meditation could be acquired by devotees from almost all levels of society.[323] The importance of images to devotional practices led the sixteenth-century Salamanca mystic Diego de Cabranes to emphasize the importance of providing public images "because their beauty causes strong devotion among the populace by frequently raising the spirits to contemplation and to thanksgiving

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(1990): 138-153; W. Kemp, "Visual Narratives, Memory, and the Medieval *Esprit du system*," in *Images of Memory: On Remembering and Representation*, ed. S. K. a. W. Melion, (Washington: Smithsonian, 1992), 87-108; C. Gilbert, *The Saints' Three Reasons for Painting in Churches* (Ithaca, NY: The Clandestine Press, 2001); H. Kessler, "Gregory the Great and Image Theory in Northern Europe during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," in *Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. C. Rudolph, (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2007), 151-169; C. W. Bynum, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York: Zone Books, 2011), 44-60.

[321] J. L. González García, "Empathetic Images and Painted Dialogues: The Visual and Verbal Rhetoric of Royal Private Piety in Renaissance Spain," in *Push Me, Pull You: Imaginative and Emotional Interaction in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art*, ed. S. Blick and L. Gelfand, (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 495-497.

[322] E. Honée, "Image and Imagination in the Medieval Culture of Prayer: A Historical Perspective," in *The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages in Europe, 1300-1500*, ed. H. Van Os, (London: Merrell Holberton, 1994), 157-174.

[323] On the impact of prints in Spain, see J. Carrete Parrondo, F. Checa Cremades, and V. Bozal, *El grabado en España, Summa artis historia general del arte* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1988), 11-127; M. L. López-Vidriero and P. M. Cátedra, *La imprenta y su impacto en Castilla* (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1998); Alvarez, "The Art Market in Renaissance Spain: From Flanders to Castile," 57, 242.

to God in his providence."[324] The strong role played by images in the flowering of late fifteenth-century Castilian devotion is suggested by the devotional text entitled *Retablo de la Vida de Christo* (fig. 77). This book purports to have been inspired by an altarpiece in the transept of the Carthusian charterhouse of Seville.[325] The text is divided into four sections, each entitled "table" or "panel" and guides the reader through the narratives depicted upon the altarpiece. The text transforms the act of reading into an act of viewing, instructing the reader to "look" and "see" throughout the text.

The particulars to the Spanish experience led however to a number of differences between Spanish Christological literature and that of the d*evotio moderna* in Northern Europe. First, the Spanish writers were very careful to adhere to church-sanctioned versions of the narrative, utilizing details of the story that follow the narrative structure of the gospels closely. The desire to create a homogenous and verifiable version led to the condemnation of apocryphal texts, with the exception of those by the Pseudo-Bonaventure and Ludolph of Saxony. Juan de Padilla in the *Retablo de la Vida de Cristo* went so far as to assert this explicitly, writing "there will be no apocrypha nor false stories,

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[324] D. d. Cabranes, *Abito y armadura spiritual* (Merida: Francisco Diaz Romano, 1544), fol. 218v; F. Checa Cremades, "Clasicismo, mentalidad religiosa y imagen artística: Las ideas estéticas de Diego de Cabranes," *Revista de ideas estéticas* 37 (1979): 57.
[325] A. Ávila, "La imagen del retablo en la pintura española del primer Renacimiento," *Goya, revista de arte* 219 (1990): 151-152.

only those held by the Holy Mother church and the holy prophets and doctors, who will be cited in the margins. . . It is a dreadful thing to include condemned or false stories among the stories of Christ."[326] The strong narrative control common to Castilian Christological literature was supported by the emphasis on volumes written by clerics with ecclesiastical sponsorship. This stands in contrast to the large numbers of small devotional tracts written by laymen and laywomen in Northern Europe, which occasionally crossed into blasphemy and even heresy.[327] This is not to say, however, that the Spanish writers did not ever elaborate upon the biblical account. Many of the writers digressed from the narrative. This was often done to provide a symbolic analysis and these diversions are typically based on the writing of such Church fathers as St. Jerome. Occasionally the stories are embellished in order to relate them to contemporary and familiar behavior. For example Petrus Ximenez de Prexano, bishop of Coria, explains that the disciples in the Garden of Gethsemane fell asleep "because they were very sleepy, and because of the work they had done, and because it was after dinner, and because it was almost midnight, and

[326] J. d. Padilla, *Retablo de la Vida de Cristo* (Seville: Jacobo Kronberger, 1512). Cited in Ishikawa, *The Retablo de Isabel la Católica*, 30.
[327] J. Marrow, *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance: A Study of the Transformation of Sacred Metaphor into Descriptive Narrative* (Kortrijk, Belgium: Van Ghemmert Pub. Co., 1979), 19.

principally because of the great fear they had."[328] The author thus appeals to the reader's personal experience and observation, suggesting that what may on the surface appear to be questionable behavior is in fact absolutely logical and understandable.

Second, Castilian Christological literature also deviates from northern European traditions in its emphasis on didactic goals. The importance of eliminating ignorance was a potent drive in a culture historically marked by its religious diversity yet currently witnessing mass conversion at multiple points in the fifteenth century. The temptation of recent converts from Judaism and Islam to backslide is particularly potent in the writings of Andrés de Lí, who states that the problem:

> with all the false Christians, the ones who cuff Jesus Christ on the neck, is that while verbally confessing everything according to the orders of the Holy Mother Church, they later deny it in their actions. . . in a kind of flattery they confess the articles of the holy Catholic faith and for insurance they receive holy baptism; and from behind they contradict and blaspheme it with Muslim or Judaic ritual or with other paganisms and superstitions.[329]

While Lí focuses upon the duplicity of false converts, the implication of other paganisms and superstitions suggests that the errors do not solely derive from

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[328] P. Ximenes de Prexano, *Lucero de la vida christiana* (Salamanca: Nebrissensis Gramática, 1493), fol. 2v. Cited in Ishikawa, *The Retablo de Isabel la Católica*, 31.
[329] A. d. Lí, *Tesoro de la pasión sacratissima de nuestro redenptor* (Zaragoza: Paul Hurus, 1494), fol. 43r. Cited in Ishikawa, *The Retablo de Isabel la Católica*, 31.

new Christians. Instead, all of Christendom is in need of education in order to eradicate both premeditated heresy as well as the equally dangerous accidental unorthodoxy.[330] Ximeinez de Presano correlates the role of education with the broader health of the Spanish kingdoms in the dedication to the *Lucero de la Vida Cristiana* writing:

> the faithful Christians and those saved by the most precious blood of Jesus Christ no longer have the memory of the immense benefits made for them. . . and as they are ignorant and blind, they do not teach their children and families. . . and this ignorance, following the negligence of the prelates, has been the most powerful cause of the heresies in Spain.[331]

These two essential differences from northern devotional literature have led scholars to debate the influence of the *devotion moderna* as it is understood in Northern Europe on Christological literature on the Iberian peninsula.[332]

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[330] D. Root, "Speaking Christian: Orthodoxy and Difference in Sixteenth-Century Spain," *Representations* 23 (1988): 118-134; R. Kagan, "Prophesy, Politics, and the Inquisition in Late Fifteenth-Century Spain," in *Cultural Encounters: The Imact of the Inquisition in Spain and the New World*, ed. A. Cruz and M. E. Perry, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 105-124; M. Mott, "The Rule of Faith over Reason: The Role of the Inquisition in Iberia and New Spain," *Journal of Church and State* 40 (1998): 57-81; G. Starr-LeBeau, *In the Shadow of the Virgin: Inquisitors, Friars, and Conversos in Guadalupe, Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 65-67.

[331] Ximenes de Prexano, *Lucero de la vida christiana*, fol. 2v. Cited in Ishikawa, *The Retablo de Isabel la Católica*, 31.

[332] M. Andrés Martín, *Historia de la teología en España, 1470-1570*, 2 vols. (Rome: Iglesia Nacional Española, 1962-1987); K. Whinnom, "The Supposed Sources of Inspiration of Spanish Fifteenth-Century Narrative Religious Verse," *Symposium* 17 (1963): 268-291; M. Andrés Martín, *Los recogidos: Nueva visión de la mística española 1500-1700* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1976), 40-41; M.-P. Aspe, "Spanish Spirituality's Mid-Sixteenth-Century Change of Course," in *The Spanish Inquisition and the Inquisitorial Mind*, ed. Á. Alcalá, (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1987), 423-424; A. Hauf, G., *D'Eiximenis a Sor Isabel de Villena: Aportació a l'estudi de la nostra cultura medieval* (Barcelona: Institut de Filologia Valenciana, 1990); Ishikawa, *The Retablo de Isabel la Católica*, 26-33; Pereda, *Las imágenes de la discordia*, 21; C. Robinson,

Admonitions, such as Juan de Padilla's that his writings do not include any apocryphal accounts are taken as evidence for the unpopularity of apocrypha in broader Castilian culture. And yet, the very desire to stipulate that one's writings are truthful indicates that other competing writers in fact are not. The extensive cultural and economic contact between Castile and the Netherlands certainly provided opportunities for devotional cross-pollination beyond the most prominent writers. And while it is undeniable that the ethnic and religious diversity of the Castilian experience led to a broad desire for spiritual education, the emphasis on northern Christological narratives popular in the previous century does not suggest an organic cultural evolution but instead a well-organized intervention through royal patronage.

Perhaps Isabel's role in sponsoring translations of northern European devotional literature was part and parcel of her broader policy of importing northern European culture. Isabel herself seems to have been extremely

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"Preaching to the Converted: Valladolid's *Cristianos nuevos* and the *Retablo de don Sancho de Rojas* (1415)," *Speculum* 83 (2008): 112-163; Delbrugge, *A Scholarly Edition of Andrés de Li's 'Thesoro de la passin' 1494*, 1-84; Boon, *The Mystical Science of the Soul*, 29-59. Cynthia Robinson argues that the *Devotio Moderna* must have had a limited impact in pre-1480's Castile due to the lack of surviving manuscripts for relevant texts. While her argument is compelling, and I agree with her assessment that devotional practices in Castile underwent a drastic change during the last decades of the fifteenth century, it is important to note that the presence or absence of textual culture does not necessarily correlate with common religious practices. Nor is it clear that late medieval Christianity was endebted to Sufi mysticism. C. Robinson, *Imagining the Passion in a Multiconfessional Castile: The Virgin, Christ, Devotions, and Images in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Philidelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013), 31-32.

concerned with the spiritual health of her kingdom. Her personal religious convictions became a primary component of the queen's public person as a counterpoint to the tumultuousness of the previous decades that coincided with a general spiritual decline.[333] And yet, Isabel did not sponsor writings which reflected contemporary northern European attitudes but markedly outdated ones. The ideas of Thomas à Kempis and Ludolph of Saxony were then mediated and manipulated to suit a specifically Spanish situation. By the end of Isabel's reign, cheap devotional texts structured on theological treatises dominated the book market revealing an awareness of devotional literature among middle-class and even lower-class readers.[334] Much like the artistic patronage of Isabel, these literary projects reveal an acute awareness of both European and Castilian culture. By mediating between native and alien, Isabel cultivated a new cultural movement incorporating both the exoticness of the foreign and the familiarity of the local.

The use of written aids, because of their encouragement of spiritual vision, impacts the interpretations of art objects in fifteenth-century Castile.

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[333] The fifteenth-century writer Fernán Pérez de Guzmán described Castile in his serious of biographies as a corrupt society with a morally bankrupt, sexually perverse, and self-interested nobility ruled by week and emasculated monarchy. Only with the imposition of a religiously orthodox moral code under the strong and centralized monarch was the healthy body politic restored. Pérez de Guzmán, *Generacinoes y semblazas*.

[334] S. Nalle, "Printing and Reading Popular Religious Texts in Sixteenth-Century Spain," in *Culture and the State in Spain, 1550-1850*, ed. T. Lewis and F. J. Sánchez, (New York: Garland Press, 1999), 126-156.

The assessment of Spanish devotional practices as conceptually independent from those of the *devotio moderna* has led to the assumption that visual objects in Iberia served a limited devotional function. Instead, Spanish images have been interpreted as pedagogical, mnemonic, decorative, or cultic.[335] A reassessment of the impact of Netherlandish devotional treatises and incorporation of the role of devotional vision in Castilian practices suggests, that instead, images had the capacity to incite prayer, guide contemplation, and directly affect the viewer's spirit. The shift toward more devotional modes of image contemplation in Castilian society also impacted the world views of Spanish mystics raised in the early sixteenth century such as Ignatius of Loyola and Teresa of Avila.[336]

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[335] Berg Sobré, *Behind the Altar Table*, 167-170; J. Yarza Luaces, *El retablo de la flagelación de Leonor de Velaso* (Madrid: Ediciones El Viso, 1999); J. Molina I Figueras, *Arte, devoción y poder en la pintura tardogótica catalana* (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1999), 57-63; Kroesen, *Staging the Liturgy*, 350-361. Felipe Pereda and Cynthia Robinson explore the devotional context of images in fifteenth-century Castile, both authors focus on the impact of medieval *convivencia* on Christian image practice. Pereda, *Las imágenes de la discordia*, 339-373; Robinson, *Imagining the Passion in a Multiconfessional Castile*, 41-88.

[336] The spirituality of Ignatius of Loyola was strongly influenced by his close readings of Thomas à Kempis's *Imitatio Christi* while his seminal work The *Exercita Spiritualia* was based upon Ludolf of Saxony's *Vita Jesu Christi* and Pseudo-bonaventura's *Meditationes vitae Christi.* C. McNaspy, "Art in Jesuit Life," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 5 (1973): 93-111; A. de Nicolas, *Powers of Imagining: Ignatius de Loyola* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1986); I. o. Loyola, *Ignatius of Loyola: The Spiritual Excercises and Other Works*, trans. G. E. Ganss, *The Classics of Western Spirituality* (New York: Paulist Press, 1991), 65-112; V. I. Stoichita, *Visionary Experience in Golden Age Spanish Art* (London: Reaktion Books, 1995), 45-77; C. Medwick, *Teresa of Avila: Progress of a Soul* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999), 41-43, 175-177; L. Saporta, "Velázquez: The Spanish Style and the Art of Devotion" (Bryn Mawr College, 2009), 13-30.

The Flemish Connection

The reassessment of Castilian devotional practices complicates the interpretation of Isabel's aesthetic preferences for art objects in a Netherlandish style. The queen's patronage of the *Retablo de Isabel,* for example, resulted in imagery that responded to both northern European religious practices and Flemish artistic traditions.[337] While the foreign elements in content and style may have been simply due to Juan de Flandes' and Michel Sittow's Flemish training, it is likely that the painters received specific instructions regarding the imagery from the patron or her spiritual advisors during the creative process. When compared to contemporary Castilian painters' ongoing use of visual language highly influenced by the International Gothic trends of the late fourteenth-century (fig. 78), the Flemish style with its hyper-realism of detail was able to depict intricate narratives and stimulate of the viewer's emotional response.[338] Images, such as *Christ Nailed to the Cross* (fig. 6), elicited a visceral response by emphasizing the suffering of Christ, visualized through a tortured visage and bright red drips of blood, as well as the other sights and sounds involved in the event. Thus another facet of the popularity of the

[337] On the popularity of the *Vita Christi* across Europe, see

[338] The high level of detail in the service of stirring emotions was also well suited to the teaching of the Christian faith to *conversos*. F. Checa Cremades, "El furto de la fe excultura flamenco en la isla de palmo," in *El furto de la fe: El legado artístico de Flandes in la isla de la Palma*, ed. F. Checa Cremades, (Madrid: Fundacíon Carlos de Amberes, 2005), 23-50; Pereda, *Las imágenes de la discordia*, 29-81.

Netherlandish style in Isabel's collection is its emotional poignancy. And yet, the desire for this spiritual interaction between object and viewer is predicated upon the importation of Northern European devotional concepts during Isabel's reign.[339] In fact, the desire for specific Netherlandish devotional objects is exemplified by the creation of copies of Flemish panels, such as Juan de Flandes' copy of Rogier van der Weyden's *Miraflores Altarpiece* for Isabel and Michel Sittow's copy of a devotional image for Hernando de Talavera.[340]

Netherlandish panel paintings were also displayed so as to emphasize their devotional potential. The *Triptych of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin* attributed to Jan Joest from the cathedral of Palencia (fig. 79) presents a large central image of the swooning Virgin cradled by John the Evangelist surrounded by seven smaller narratives of the Virgin's sorrows.[341] This central

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[339] J. Molina I Figueras, "Contemplar, meditar, rezar. Función y uso de las imágenes de devoción en torno a 1500," in *El arte en Cataluña y los reinos hispanos en tiempos de Carlos I* (Barcelona: Sociedad Estatal para la conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2000), 93.
[340] Sánchez Cantón, "El retablo de la reina católica," 115.
[341] C. Justi, *Miscellaneen aus drei Jahrhunderten spanischen Kunstlebens*, 2 vols. (Berlin: G. Grote, 1908), 1: 329-331; C. Post, "A Second Retable by Jan Joest in Spain," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 22 (1942): 127-134; E. García, "El trascoro de la catedral de Palencia," *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* 11 (1944-1945): 179-184; Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 9: 12; Checa Cremades, *Reyes y mecenas: Los reyes católicos, Maximilliano I y los indicios de la Austria en España*, 326-327; A. Sancho Campo, *La catedral de Palencia: Un lecho de catedrales* (Edilesa, Spain: Ediciones Leonesas, 1996), 36-43, 84-85; Wolff-Thomsen, *Jan Joest von Kalkar, en niederländischer Maler um 1500*, *Schriften der Heresbach-Stiftung Kalkar* (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 1997), 43-114, 349-353; J. O. Hand, *Joos van Cleve: The Complete Paintings* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 14-15; L. Schollmeyer, *Jan Joest: Ein Beitrag zur Kunstgeschichte des Rheinlandes um 1500*, *Schriften der Heresback-Stiftung Kalkar* (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2004), 295-342; Kroesen, *Staging the Liturgy*, 96.

section is framed by two wings, the interiors of which are completely covered by a black ground with gold script including a devotional text and indulgences for recitation of prayers:

> Disce, salvator, nostros meminisse Dolores
> Septenos, prosint ut tibi quaque die.
> Praedixit Symeon mucrone feriri,
> Et matrem nati vulnera ferere sui: Hinc cum cesa fuit puerorum
> turba piorum
> Pertuli in Epigtum non bene tuta meum.
> Et dolui querens puerum divina docentem
> In temple, hinc captum pondera ferre cruces.
> Cum vidi et lingo fixum, tum morte sopitum
> Deponi, inque petra linquere pulsa fui.
> Hos igitur nostros quisquis meditare Dolores.
> Percipies natum ferre salutis opem.
>
> Anno a natiuitate ihesu xristi 15
> 05 reuerendus ac magnificus roester dominus
> Joannes de Fonseca dei gracia palentinus.
>
> //
>
> presul ac per me comes dominum oratoris
> erga serenissimum philippum regem castillie etcetera legacionem
> bruxellis in brabenciam fungeretur deuoci-
> one motus suis expensibus hanc historiam in honorem
> passioneis beate marie virginis fieri iussit ut que
> cumque flexis genibus coram hac ymaginem sepci-
> es oraciones donicam totoderis vicibus salu
> tacionem angicam devote recitaverit ibi plu-
> res indulgencies praeveniri valeant fatres
> et sorores huius confraternitatis supradictae
> orones recitantes praefatas indulgencies et a-
> lias in bulla huius confraternitatis contentas ac-
> quiere possunt.

(*Teach us, Savior, to remember everyday the seven sorrows for our benefit. The blade that struck as Symeon predicted, and pain to the child's mother because of his small wounds: here with Caesar was the multitude of pious children, my flight into Egypt was not easy or safe. And I was sorry and asking the child for divine teachings in the temple, hence taking up the cross to bear the burden. When I saw and the tongue was fixed, then death stunned. Depositioning, I was struck by the rock and left. Then whoever meditates on our sorrows is born into salvation. In the year 1505 after the birth of Jesus Christ our reverent and magnificent Lord Juan de Fonseca by the grace of God in Palencia // with me as a companion was discharged from the Brussels' embassy in Brabant on the order of the most serene King Philip of Castile etc. and moved devotedly with their expenses this historia [triptych] honoring the passions of the blessed Virgin Mary to which whoever bends his knees before this image while devoutly reciting seven times the Ave Maria and the Our Father receives indulgences, and the brothers and sisters can anticipate the above and other indulgences contained in the bull of the confraternities*.)[342]

The installation of the triptych on the *trascoro* altar (fig. 80) made the object immediately acceptable to the laity, located neither behind the choir walls nor a private chapel screen. This altar was reserved for the observation of the Marian cult on Saturdays, including devotional prayers in the morning and the *Salve Regina* liturgy in the afternoon.[343] Nor was the *Triptych of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin* a unique object in Isabelline Castile. Similar triptychs with indulgences

[342] The inscription is discussed in Sancho Campo, *La catedral de Palencia: Un lecho de catedrales*, 84-85; Schollmeyer, *Jan Joest: Ein Beitrag zur Kunstgeschichte des Rheinlandes um 1500*, 299-302.
[343] A. Cabeza, *La vida en una catedral de antiguo régimen* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y Leon, 1997), 42; García, "El trascoro de la catedral de Palencia," 179-184. This function contrasts with that of similar altars in France and Germany, where the altar on the eastern exterior of the choir screans was the site of the lay mass.

inscribed on the insides of the wings were located in La Rioja (fig. 81) and Burgos (figs. 82-84).[344]

The contemporaneous popularity of Northern European devotional practices and Netherlandish visual style suggests an interrelationship between geography and spiritual efficacy in fifteenth-century Castile. The possibility that interest in objects created in a Flemish visual style modeled on the masters of the fifteenth century responded to an awareness of the location of origin for the devotional practices then in vogue raises the possibility that aesthetics were understood as a component of devotional contemplation beyond the ability of a greater level of detail to reflect descriptive devotional treatises. This is not to suggest that Castilian Christians could not or did not envision divinity in Iberian artistic constructs. Rather, the simultaneous importation of devotional practices, religious objects, and stylistic language presents the possibility of conceptual correlation between the visual form of a devotional object and its efficacy. Because of the association with a specific external locale, Netherlandish

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[344] For the *Triptych of the Deposition,* see Bermejo, *La pintura de los primitivos flamencos en España*, 1: 125; Fernández Pardo, *Las tablas flamencas en la Ruta Jacobea*, 320-323. For the *Triptych of the Virgin and Child,* see Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 4: 95; Bermejo, *La pintura de los primitivos flamencos en España*, 1: 183; J. Carlos Elorza, ed. *Las pinturas sobre tabla de los siglos XV y XVI de la catedral de Burgos* (Burgos: A. G. Amabar, 1994), 24-25. For the *Triptych of the Virgo Lactans,* see J. Lavalleye, *Collections d'Espagne*, 2 vols. (Antwerp: De Sikkel, 1958), 2: no. 61; Bermejo, *La pintura de los primitivos flamencos en España*, 123-124; Carlos Elorza, *Las pinturas*, 48-49. For the *Triptych of the Pieta,* see Lavalleye, *Collections d'Espagne*, 2: no. 78; Carlos Elorza, *Las pinturas*, 74-77.

images and local images made using Flemish aesthetics were particularly powerful vehicles for stimulating devotional attitudes; they reveal a correlation between religious practices and aesthetic preferences.

While no textual source explicitly describes the perceived communicative power of Netherlandish images in Spain, medieval and early modern Europeans clearly did understand regional styles as reflecting specific origins and international cultural distinction. In the late medieval world-view, geography was also understood as a mapping through time.[345] The spatial-temporal interconnectivity influenced medieval cosmology, exemplified by maps such as the Hereford *Mappa Mundi* of c. 1300 (fig. 85).[346] The globe is

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[345] A. Nagel and C. Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York: Zone Books, 2010), 7-20. While I am in agreement with Nagel and Wood's premises regarding the interchangeability of objects to create fluidity in chronological time, I disagree with their firm distinction between images, which they defined as objects that can be interchanged with similar objects over time (substituted), and relics. The authors define a relic as an object whose "historicity, its link to a point in time, is the entire basis of its value. . . the relic is irreplaceable." Such a definition or a relic precludes their ability to extend their power by contact with other materials or equivocation of dimension. For example, see D. Clarke, "The Icon and the Index: Modes of Invoking the Body's Presence," *The American Journal of Semiotics* 9 (1992): 49-83. Nor does the argument presented by Nagel and Woods allow for mediation in the competing statuses of relic and image. Objects such as the *Icon of the Virgin Hodegetria* in the cathedral of Liège occupied a middle-space, acting as both relic and substitutional image in the fifteenth century. The 1489 display celebrated the icon as having been painted by St. Luke and this origin was verifiable to fifteenth-century viewers by the Byzantine composition and silver revetments. Meanwhile, the image was treated as substitional when an anonymous fifteenth-century artist "updated" the Virgin as he re-painted her in a contemporary visual style. H. C. Evans, ed. *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557)* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 252-253.

[346] J. Wogan-Browne, "Reading the world: the Hereford *mappa mundi*," *Parergon* 9 (1991): 117-135; P. D. A. Harvey, *Mappa Mundi: the Hereford world map* (London: Hereford Cathedral and the British Library, 1996); N. R. Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought: The Hereford Paradigm* (Rochester, NY: Boydell, 2001); E. Edson and E. Savage-Smith, *Medieval Views of the Cosmos: Picturing the*

oriented eastward, with Asia occupying the top half of the map while Europe and Africa lay at the bottom separated by the Mediterranean Sea. When viewed from top to bottom the positioning suggests the movement of time, both the Sun's daily passage from East to West as well as the emergence of civilization out of the Garden of Eden, depicted as a walled island at the topmost edge, through the Babylonian, Macedonian, and Roman empires. Scattered across the face of the earth appear biblical events, contemporary cities, fantastic beasts, and cultural descriptions of inhabitants. The entire structure is subjugated to the future event of the Last Judgment located at the top. At the center lies Jerusalem, the historical site of Christ's death and resurrection, the contemporary Holy Site, and the Celestial City of God. The interplay between temporal and geographical realities extends the map into the realm of the symbolic and typological.

The eschatological significance of time and place not only affected the understanding of world geography but would have also impacted medieval conceptualizations of regional cultural specificity. Because the Christian God

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Universe in the Christian and Islamic Middle Ages (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2004); P. D. A. Harvey, ed. *The Hereford World Map: medieval world maps and their context* (London: British Library, 2006). A similar construct is presented by the ekphrasis of the fictional *mappa mundi* painted on the ceiling of Fortune's abode in the *Laberinto de Fortuna* by Juan de Mena in 1444. The map is composed of seven interconnected circles representing the Ptolemaic universe with wheels for past, present, and future time. Mena, *Laberinto de Fortuna*, 59-62.

became incarnate and existed in a specific place, the eastern edge of the Mediterranean was transformed into the "Holy Land."[347] The very earth beneath Christ's feet absorbed his presence, becoming a contact relic.[348] The floor of the basilica of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, Rome, was according to legend packed with earth from the foot of the cross transported by St. Helena along with the relic of the True Cross in the fourth century.[349] The entire chapel functions as a reliquary of Christ's Passion, a temporally and spatially ambiguous space coexisting in both contemporary Rome and first-century Judea.

The power of the Holy Land extended beyond the earth beneath the cross, encompassing the entire city and region. Constantinople became the successor to Jerusalem with the transport of the Passion relics in the fourth century, and by the high Middle Ages objects from Byzantium were believed to

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[347] M. Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 1999), 54-73; Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 54-70.

[348] On the relic-like treatment of stones from the Holy Land, see C. R. Morey, "The Painted Panel from the Sancta Sanctorum," in *Festchrift zum sechzigsten Geburtstag von Paul Clemen*, ed. W. R. Worringer, H. Reiner, and L. Seligmann, (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1926), 150-167; K. Weitzmann, "Loca Sancti and the Representational Arts of Palestine," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 28 (1974): 33-55; F. Cardini, "La devozione al Santo Sepolcro, le sue riproduzioni occidentali e il complesso stefaniano: Alcuni casi italici," in *Sette colonne e sette chiese: La vicenda ultramillenaria del complesso di Santo Stefano in Bologna*, ed. F. Bocchi, (Casalecchio de Reno, Bologna: Grafis, 1987), 32; H. van Os, *The Way to Heaven: Relic Veneration in the Middle Ages* (Baarn: de Prom, 2000), 54.

[349] P. Tafur, *Travels and Adventures, 1435-1439* (London: Routledge, 1926), 41; I. Toesca, "A Majolica Inscription in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme," in *Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, ed. D. Fraser, H. Hibard, and M. J. Lewine, (London: Phaidon, 1967), 102-105; Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 194.

be sacred due to this secondary association with Palestine. In the later Middle Ages, the exotic style of Byzantine icons was a marker to Western Europe of relic or near-relic status due to an object's presumed temporal and geographic proximity to holy events.[350] For example, the thirteenth-century Byzantine miniature mosaic of the *Imago Pietatis* located in the chapel of Santa Croce chapel (fig. 86) was believed to have been created by St. Gregory the Great as a direct response to his miraculous vision during the celebration of the Eucharist in the sixth century.[351] The origin myth elevates the image to a status similar to *acheiropoieton,* or an image made by divine effect without the intervention of human hands. The display of the icon in the central position of an elaborate Renaissance reliquary relates the icon to the other passion relics held in the chapel (fig. 87).[352] It is the icon's Byzantine origins revealed through the medium and visual style that allowed for the reinterpretation of the image, the

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[350] H. Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 330-348; G. Wolf, *Salus Populi Romani: Die Geschichte römischer Kultbilder im Mittelalter* (Weinheim: VCH, Acta humaniora, 1990), 184; M. W. Ainsworth, "À la façon grècque Encounter of Northern Renaissance Artists with Byzantine Icons," in *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, ed. H. C. Evens, (New York: Metropolitan Museum, 2004), 545-555; Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 72-73.

[351] On the devotional power of the St. Gregory the Great image, see C. W. Bynum, "Seeing and Seeing Beyond: The Mass of St. Gregory in the Fifteenth Century," in *In the Mind's Eye: Art and Theology in the Middle Ages*, ed. J. Hamburger and A.-M. Bouché, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 208-240; C. Bertelli, "The Image of Piety in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme," in *Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolf Wittkwer*, ed. D. Fraser, H. Hibard, and M. J. Lewine, (London: Phaidon, 1967), 40-55.

[352] Like a relic, the image carried an indulgence for prayers offered to it. H. van Os, ed. *The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages in Europe, 1300-1500* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 43.

elevation of its status to a relic, and its increased function in mediation of the divine. The production of prints of the icon (fig. 88) allowed devotees outside Rome access to the relic-image tradition while perpetuating a broader cultural awareness of the devotional efficacy of the image.[353] Recitation of the *Salve sancta facies* prayer before images of the icon were even granted equivalent indulgences to those said before the original object.[354] The interest in Byzantine icons in the Latin west reveals the potential intersection of regional aesthetics, geography, and culture to impact devotional efficacy.

Spain was not insulated from these developments, and Isabel's collection of paintings included several objects of Byzantine origin (fig. 47).[355] However, the discovery of an "antique" Iberian image, the *Virgin de la Antigua* in the cathedral of Seville, provided Castile with its own authentic miraculous image (fig. 89).[356] According to legend, the Christians of Seville built a façade over

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[353] M. Lehrs, *Geschichte und kritischer Katalog des deutschen, niederländischen und französischen Kupferstichs im XV. Jahrhundert*, 10 vols. (Vienna: Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst, 1908-1934), 1: 177-178; F. W. H. Hollstein, *German Engravings, Etchings, and Woodcuts ca. 1400-1700*, 62 vols. (Amsterdam: Hertzberger and Co., 1954-), 24: 75; Bertelli, "The Image of Piety in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme," 40-55; Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 477-478; P. Parshall, "Imago Contrafacta: Images and Facts in the Northern Renaissance," *Art History* 16 (1993): 554-579; van Os, *The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages in Europe, 1300-1500*, 110-112; G. Wolf, *Schleir und Spiegel: Traditionen des Christusbildes und die Bildkonzepte der Renaissance* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2002), 164-165.

[354] van Os, *The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages in Europe, 1300-1500*, 110-113.

[355] Sánchez Cantón, *Libros, tapices y cuadros que coleccionó Isabel la Católica*, 176. For discussion of Byzantine images in Isabel's collection, and the implications for transitional early modern image theory in the kingdom of Granada, see Pereda, *Las imágenes de la discordia*, 218-219.

[356] Pereda, *Las imágenes de la discordia*, 145-158.

their beloved image of the Virgin in order to hide her during the Muslim invasion in the eighth century. Five hundred years later, during the seige of Seville, St. Fernando received a vision of the Virgin who promised him victory so that he could venerate the holy *Virgin de la Antigua* hidden in the central mosque. Upon entering the city victoriously, St. Fernando proceeded to the former church where the protective wall fell away miraculously revealing the image. The *Virgin de la Antigua* became the central focus of the Marian cult in Andalusia because of the miraculous legend and presumed age of the object. However, the *Virgin de la Antigua* is neither an eighth-century creation nor an imported Byzantine icon. The softly modeled face, undulating cascade of drapery, and elaborately punched gilded background suggest a late fourteenth-century, International Gothic origin for the panel painting.[357] The difficulty in reconciling the style and presumed age of the object with the associated legend suggests that late medieval Iberians understood material culture to be substitutive.[358] The *Virgin de la Antigua* suggests that some miraculous images could maintain their relic-like sacred power through the substitional process. The geographic and temporal disconnect between the image as object and the

[357] On the development of the International Gothic style, see G. Schmidt, "The Beautiful Style," in *Prague: The Crown of Bohemia (1347-1437)*, ed. B. D. Boehm and J. Fajt, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art), 105-112.
[358] On the substitutional theory of art, see Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 29-34.

image as legend reveals space in the pre-Renaissance world view for the transfer of sacred power across time, space, and style.[359] In fact, the chain of influence from late Gothic images, through Byzantine icons, to the origins of Christian painting in the Holy Land, if known by late fifteenth-century Iberians, would only have augmented the perceived power of the *Virgin de la Antigua*.[360] Awareness of the time and place of an object's creation, articulated through aesthetics and manipulated through legend, was a component in the valuation of art objects. Thus, the late Gothic artistic presentation of the Virgin in the image of the *Virgin de la Antigua* was an important component of its authenticity and therefore its power.

Like Byzantine icons and miraculous images with "antique" provenances, art objects created in the Netherlands also reference in their style a place beyond the borders of Castile. This is not to suggest that Northern

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[359] Felip Pereda describes this phenomenon as the "Byzantinization" of the image, by which he indicates both a heightened devotional function as well as an antiquated, easternized visual style mediated through Western artistic developments. Pereda, *Las imágenes de la discordia*, 145-248. This argument is similar to that presented in A. Nagel and C. Wood, "What Counted as 'Antiquity' in the Renaissance?," in *Renaissance Medievalisms*, ed. D. Eisenberg, (Toronto: Center for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2009), 53-74; Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 7-20. See also J. Trilling, "The Image Not Made By Hands and the Byzantine Way of Seeing," in *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation: Papers from a Colloquium held at the Bibliotheca Herziana, Rome and the Villa Spelman, Florence, 1996*, ed. H. Kessler and G. Wolf, (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1998), 109-127; K. Woods, "Byzantine Icons in the Netherlands, Bohemia and Spain during the 14th and 15th Centuries," in *Byzantine Art and Renaissance Europe*, ed. A. Lymberopoulou and R. Duits, (Burlington: Ashgate, 2013), 135-157.

[360] O. Pächt, "The 'Avignon Diptych' and its Eastern Ancestry," in *De Artibus Opuscula XL, Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, ed. M. Meiss, (Princeton: Princeton university Press, 1961), 402-421.

Europe was spiritually equivalent to the Eastern Mediterranean for fifteenth-century Castilians but that the underlying world view that allowed for the *Virgin de la Antigua* created the potential for the geographic history of images to be interpreted as a component of devotional efficacy. Regionally distinct visual style influenced the perceived power of an image because of its association with foreign geographies, and therefore Netherlandish looking images may have been preferred by Isabel in part because of an awareness of association with places inhabited by the authors of the devotional texts she imported. The power of the Netherlandish image in a devotional context is also suggested by the continued popularity of an outdated visual style, suggesting that the aesthetic desire reflected time as well as place. Isabel and her court did not develop an interest in art objects reflecting contemporary Netherlandish trends but instead remained focused on the style of previous generations hallmarked by Rogier van der Weyden, Jan van Eyck, and the early Netherlandish School.[361]

The ability of mid-fifteenth-century Netherlandish images to serve as pseudo-relics with heightened devotional capabilities is exemplified by the *Veronica* sculpture in the Capilla del Cristo a la columna of Toledo cathedral

[361] This antiquated aesthetic continued into the late sixteenth century and is demonstrated by Philip II's attempts to acquire celebrated works by these artists during his sojourn in the Low Countries.

(fig. 90).[362] According to legend, St. Veronica took pity on Christ as he walked to Calvary. She pressed a cloth to his face to wipe away the blood and sweat, but when she pulled the cloth away she found it had become imprinted with a perfect image of Christ's physiognomy. The miraculous portrait became known as the *sudarium*.[363] Images of St. Veronica holding the *sudarium* were extremely popular both as independent compositions (fig. 91) as well as in scenes of Christ on the road to Calvary (fig. 92). The Toledo sculpture alters the traditional iconography by replacing the *sudarium* relic with a variation of Jan van Eyck's panel painting of the *Holy Face* (fig. 93).[364] The image's status as a

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[362] Á. Franco, "Flandes y Burgos: Icongrafía pasional, liturgia y devociones," *Boletín de la Institución Fernán González* 219 (1999): 307-337; Ballesteros Gallardo and Suárez Fernández, *Ysabel, la Reina Católica*, 495-496.

[363] This variant of the legend appears in the Bible of Rogier of Argenteuil. E. v. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder: Untersuchungen zur chistlichen Legende* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1899), 304*-305*. In *The Golden Legend,* Veronica states that she had hoped to paint an image of Christ but that he took a cloth and touched it to his face instead. J. d. Voragine, *The Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints*, trans. W. Caxton, 2 vols. (London: Temple Classics, 1900), 1: 29-37. For the textual relationships between the two variants, see A. Ford, *La Vengeance de Notre-Seigneur: The Old and Middle French Pose Versions: The Cura Sanitatis Tierii (The Mission of Volusian), the Nathanis Judaei Legatio (Vindicta Slavatoria), and the Versions found in the Bible en François of Rogier d'Argenteuil or influenced by the Works of Flavius Josephus, Robert de Boron, and Jacobus de Voragine* (Toronto: Potifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1993). The relic believed to be the *sudarium* was first recorded in Rome in the twelfth century. In the mid-thirteenth century Pope Innocent III instituted a new liturgy for the relic and granted an indulgence to those who participated in the annual procession. G. Wolf, "From Mandylion to Veronica: Picturing the "Disembodied" Face and Disseminating the True Image of Christ in the Latin West," in *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation: Papers from a Colloquium held at the Bibliotheca Herziana, Rome and the Villa Spelman, Florence, 1996*, ed. H. Kessler and G. Wolf, (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1998), 153-179.

[364] The original painting by Jan van Eyck is lost, but it is known through three surviving copies and multiple variants. van Os, *The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages in Europe, 1300-1500*, 40. The version in the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin includes the original inscription describing how the image was painted by Jan van Eyck on January 31, 1434 "als ikh kan." The text of the

painted panel is heightened through inclusion of the frame on which is written "PROTEC.TORNOSTER ASPICE DEUS / ET RESPICE. IN FACIEM CHRISTI TVI / NE IN UACUUM GRACIA /MBEIUS RECIPIAMUS" (*Viewer look at our God and look in the face of your God and receive his not empty grace.)*[365] Much like Petrus Christus' version (fig. 94), the Toledo image emphasizes Christ's suffering through inclusion of the crown of thorns, dripping blood, and pained expression.[366] Veronica looks downward toward the Holy Face, providing a model for empathetic contemplation. The frontal presentation of Christ emphasized interaction between Christ and the viewer.[367] The *Holy Face* was a common devotional theme and was related to the passion narrative in the

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inscription, including van Eyck's personal motto, is reminiscent of the text included on contemporary portraits. The transformation of a relic of the holy face into a signed and dated portrait substitutes the authenticity of the *acheiropoieton* for the authority of artistic observation "al vivf." S. Perkinson, *The Likeness of the King : A Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

[365] The text is based upon Psalm 83:10 and 2 Corinthians 6:1

[366] Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 1: 15; P. Schabacker, *Petrus Christus* (Utrecht: Haentjens Dekker & Gumbert, 1974), 42-43, 80-81, 129-130; J. O. Hand, "'Salve sancta facies': Some Thoughts on the Iconography of the 'Head of Christ' by Petrus Christus," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Journal* 27 (1992): 7-17; M. W. Ainsworth, ed. *Petrus Christus: Renaissance Master of Bruges* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994), 86-91; Ainsworth and Christiansen, *From Van Eyck to Bruegel*, 96-97. A variation on the Petrus Christus type was located in the Cathedral of La Rioja, Bermejo, "Las tablas flamencas," 277. A similar painting was created for Isabel by Bartolomé Bermejo and was used in her personal devotion. A. Calvo Castellón, "Pinturas italianas y españolas," in *El libro de la Capilla Real*, ed. D. J. M. Pita Andrade, (Granada: Copartgraf, 1994), 217-218.

[367] Nicholas of Cusa described a similar image as having "all-seeing-eyes" that followed the writer as he moved about in supplication, emphasizing the role of the direct gaze as an indicator for spiritual presence and vehicle for communication. N. Cusa, *The Vision of God*, trans. E. Gurney Salter (New York: Cosimo, 2007), 21.

Lentulus Letter.[368] As a direct impression of Christ's face the *sudarium* functioned as a veristic representation of the savior's actual appearance, providing validity to the many representations of Christ's likeness. The conceptual correlation between the "Vera Icon" (true likeness) of Veronica's veil and the "Vera Icon" (True image) of Jan van Eyck allows the Toledo sculpture to conflate a Netherlandish painted image with an *acheiropoieton.* Implicitly, Jan van Eyck is elevated to an equivalent status to St. Luke.

Interestingly, the devotional power of mid-fifteenth-century Flemish imagery was not limited to Castile. While the vast majority of Flemish altarpieces from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century are stylistically unified on interior and exterior, occasionally a stylistic break does occur (fig. 95-96).[369] In these limited instances, it is the exterior face that displays a more

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[368] The Lentulus Letter is an apocryphal writing, ostensibly by a Roman official for the benefit of the Senate, describing the visual appearance of Christ just before the crucifixion. Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response*, 210.

[369] On the *Nativity with Donors and Saints Jerome and Leonard,* see Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 6: 143; Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 1: 470; M. W. Ainsworth, *Gerard David: Purity of Vision in an Age of Transition* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 210-213; M. W. Ainsworth, "A Meeting of Sacred and Secular Worlds," in *From Van Eyck to Bruegel: Early Netherlandish Painting in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, ed. M. W. Ainsworth and K. Christiansen, (New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., 1998), 139-145; B. Bakker, *Landschap en wereldbeeld: Van Van Eyck tot Rembrandt* (Bossum, The Netherlands: Uitgeverij Thoth, 2004), 165-169, ; M. W. Ainsworth, "Intentional Alterations of Early Netherlandish Paintings," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Journal* 40 (2005): 58-59. On the *Malvagna Triptych,* see Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 8: 17-18; E. M. Kavaler, "Renaissance Gothic in the Netherlands: The Uses of Ornament," *Art Bulletin* 82 (2000): 228-233; A. Mensger, *Jan Gossaert: Die niederländische Kunst zu Beginn der Neuzeit* (Berlin: Reimer, 2002), 23-30; M. W. Ainsworth and M. Faries, "Jan Gossaert's *Malvagna Triptych:* A Study of Two Versions," in *La peinture ancienne et ses procédés:*

"modern" image, such as a deep verdant landscape or figures based on Italian models, whereas the interior opening displays a more "traditional" visual style. Because the devotional efficacy of a triptych increases as it is opened, the utilization of an older visual style on the interior surface creates a power differential between the old and the new. As in Spain, mid-fifteenth century Netherlandish painting style seems to have been accorded spiritual weight.

If Netherlandish objects were understood as particularly potent conduits to the divine in Isabelline Castile then Juan de Flandes' position in Isabel's court must be reinterpreted to include his ability to create especially effective devotional aids including the *Retablo de Isabel* even as local Spanish artists attempted to achieve a comparable Hispano-Flemish style.[370] Nor were Isabel's personal preferences limited to her patronage or even her immediate circle. The transmutation of literary and visual forms by local Castilian writers and artists, exemplified by the *Retablo de la Vida de Christo* by Padilla and the Hispano-Flemish paintings by Fernando Gallego, suggests the strength of this movement beyond Isabel's personal patronage. Through her attempts to create

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Copies, répliques, pastiches, ed. H. Verougstraete and J. Couvert, (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 138-149; A. Mensger, "Jan Gossaert und der niederländische Stilpluralismus zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts: Eine Annäherung," in *Stil als Bedeutung in der nordalpinen Renaissance; Wiederentdeckung einer methodischen Nachbarschaft*, ed. S. Hoppe, M. Müller, and N. Nussbaum, (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2008), 196-199; M. W. Ainsworth, *Man, Myth, and Sensual Pleasures: Jan Gossart's Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 131-139.

[370] Kroesen, *Staging the Liturgy*, 396.

religious homogony, Isabel encouraged the utilization of objects and ideas influenced by Northern Europe among the masses. The desire for objects created by Northern European artists, ostensibly for use in personal devotional acts inspired by the *devotio moderna*, is epitomized by the large volume of goods imported for sale at the royal fairs sponsored by Isabel.[371] The small panels of the *Retablo de Isabel* functioned not only as personal devotional tools for the queen but reveals the increased power of devotional objects across Castile that occurred during Isabel's reign.

[371] Alvarez, "The Art Market in Renaissance Spain: From Flanders to Castile," 198-211.

Chapter 5: Public Devotion

Because of the unfinished state of the *Retablo de Isabel* at the time of the queen's death, it is impossible to ascertain with certainty Isabel's final intentions for the project. However, the documentation surrounding the project and the extant panels seems to suggest contradictory functions. On the one hand each painting reveals an individualization commonly associated with private religious images, suggesting the images were used as independent devotional aids. On the other hand, the collection of images mimics the specifically Castilian form of a *retablo mayor* which was used in communal rituals. Just as Margaret of Austria's initial use of the panels from Isabel's estate in her private chamber may have reflected Isabel's utilization of the panels, so to might Margaret's later installation of a large number of the panels into a single polyptych reflect Isabel's intentions for the final project.[372]

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[372] Of the thirty-two works purchased by Margaret, twenty were included in the altarpiece: the *Marriage at Cana, Temptation of Christ, Baptism of Christ, Transfiguration, Christ Healing the Bleeding Woman, Arrest in the Garden, Christ before Pilate, Mocking of Christ, Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes, Christ in the House of Simon, Raising of Lazarus, Three Maries at the Tomb, Harrowing of Hell, Noli me tangere, Christ Calming the Storm, Entry into Jerusalem, Last Supper, Appearance to Peter, Supper in the House of Emmaus,* and *Pentecost.* Archives Generales du Royaume (Brussels), Chambre des Comptes, Reg. no. 1803, 248v-249v. Published in J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle, *Les anciens peintres flamands, leur vie et leurs oeuvres*, 2 vols. (Brussels: F. Heussner, 1863), 2: cccvii. The order of the images was recorded in the 1600 inventory of Philip II. Archivo General del Palacio, Felipe II, Inventario General de Viences y Alajas de los Quartos de SS. MM., I/F-106. Published in R. Beer, "Inventäre aus dem Archivo del Palacio zu Madrid," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 14 (1893): x; F. J. Sánchez Cantón, "Los pintores de los Reyes de Castilla (Apunte históricos)," *Boletín de la sociedad española de excursiones* 22 (1914): 72; Ishikawa, *The Retablo de Isabel la Católica*, 172. See also Zimmerman, "Urkunden und Regesten

The intention to install her personally tailored devotional images in a *retablo mayor* format suggests that Isabel appropriated a large-scale object for communal use, an object of a type specific to Castile, for her personal religious needs. As a work of ostensibly private contemplation that mimicked the public form of the *retablo mayor,* the *Retablo de Isabel* would have straddled the private and public aspects of Isabel's self-fashioning. As such the *Retablo de Isabel* helps us understand the spiritual personality of the individual Isabel as well as that of the queen of Castile.

The Retablo Mayor Tradition and Communal Identity

The identification of the intended *Retablo de Isabel* as a *retablo mayor* places the object in specific patronage and liturgical traditions intended to communicate to a broad collective audience. A r*etabls mayor* was located in the center of the choir of a large public church, dominating the space and influencing the entire visual program. Because of the high costs associated with the construction of a *retablo mayor,* most projects were commissioned by groups in a community, such as the canons of a cathedral, or distinguished members of

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aus dem K.u.K. Haus-, Hof- und Staats-Archiv in Wien herausgegeben unter Mitwirkung des K.u.K Sectionrathes und Vice-Direktors dieses Archivs Joseph Ritter von Fiedler (Fortsetzung)," 82-152; D. Eichberger, "A Renaissance Princess named Margaret: Fashioning a Public Image in a Courtly Society," in *Reflections on Medieval and Renaissance Art and Patronage: Conference in Honour of Professor Emeritus Margaret Manion: 17 to 19 November 1999* ed. D. Mashall, (Melbourne: The University, 2001), 145-185; Eichberger, *Leben mit Kunst*, 141-143.

the clergy on behalf of the congregation.[373] Once installed, the *retablo mayor* participated in group ritual by providing visual splendor and iconographic poignancy to the celebration of the mass and the reading of the sermon. The collection of narrative scenes placed the contemporaneous action of the liturgy into the fabric of Christological time. The narrative flow from one scene to the next accentuates the salvation story in its totality without emphasizing individual moments, even those such as the Crucifixion, which carry the weight of spiritual efficacy. The *retablo mayor* was a central component to communal devotion and as such emphasized salvation for everyman.

As the backdrop to the celebration of the mass, the *retablo mayor* came to incorporate numerous visual references to the sacrament. The *Retablo de Isabel* participated in this tradition, providing further evidence that the work was intended to eventually function in a manner comparable to *retablos mayors* across Castile. The Passion narrative has long been understood as theologically connoted in the celebration of the Eucharist. Because of the doctrine of transubstantiation, the host was recognized as a physical manifestation of Christ's corporality, the treatment of which became associated

[373] Lay individuals more often sponsored altarpieces for side altars, often intended to be located in side chapels. These objects were associated with patron saints of the individual or carry funerary associations in chapels that function as mausoleums. *Retablos mayors* differed from side chapel *retablos* in terms of content, composition, scale, and form. Berg Sobré, *Behind the Altar Table*, 137.

with the Passion narrative. For example, the ritual for the placement of the reserved host into the tabernacle invoked the entombment. Depictions of Christ's Passion were thus associated with ritualistic connotations. Although the form of the Castilian *retablo mayor* emphasizes the sum total of the Christological narrative through an equalizing treatment of all narrative moments, the importance of the Passion cycle is indicated by the proportion of scenes from this time in Christ's life. Of the fifty-three panels of the *retablo mayor* of the Old Salamanca Cathedral, fifteen depict the scenes associated with Holy Week. In comparison, nine scenes depict the Infancy cycle, and five scenes from the Life of the Virgin. The *Retablo de Isabel* contains an even higher proportion of Passion scenes, twenty of the forty-seven narrative panels listed in the 1504 inventory.

The participation of the Castilian *retablo mayor* in the mass is heightened by objects that incorporate the host into their physical form. The *retablo mayor* of Toledo, for example, includes a large sculpted tabernacle on its central axis (fig. 100). Others such as the *retablo mayor* of the Carthusian charterhouse at Miraflores invoke the host through its use of circular compositional forms (fig. 24). Most often the imagery of the *retablo mayor* communicated a ritualistic message by depicting of the implements necessary for the celebration of the

Eucharist (fig. 101). Although it is impossible to know if the *Retablo de Isabel* would have included a tabernacle in its finished state, depictions of the host and chalice in the scenes of the *Agony in the Garden* (fig. 102) and the *Last Supper* (fig. 103) reveals the imagery as participating in the content tradition of Castilian *retablos mayors*, allowing the altarpiece to function in a liturgical context independent from Isabel's private devotional prayers.

Retablos mayors were the foremost mode of ecclesiastical patronage in fifteenth and sixteenth-century Castile, created in an atmosphere of competition between the cathedrals across the kingdom. The power of the high altarpiece as a statement of both personal patronage and communal identity was heightened as a result of the multitude of functions it served for a variety of audiences. The division between the choir and the canons' choir that developed in fifteenth-century Castilian cathedral organization allowed the altarpiece to be in continual view of the canons seated in the choir of the cathedral during the mass. It was also visible to the laity between services when the imagery served as a backdrop to biblical readings and sermons.[374] Because of the communal

[374] Kroesen, *Staging the Liturgy*, 323-349.

liturgical function, *retablos mayors* amalgamated the pious personal statement of the patron with the needs of the many user groups in the cathedral.[375]

The queen's decision to commission a personalized *retablo mayor,* instead of the more traditional chapel altarpiece, resulted in a unique object that would not have conformed to contemporary altarpiece conventions. Unlike traditional *retablos mayors,* the tailoring of the imagery would have complicated the ability of the object to function communally. Instead, the altarpiece mimicked the format of the public and communal object in a personal and semi-private context. Upon its completion, the *Retablo de Isabel* would likely have been installed on the altar in the queen's private chapel. The small size of the individual panels would have eased the transferal of the altarpiece during the court's travels. When positioned in the royal chapel, the work would have been visible to the royal family, high ranking courtiers, and important local and foreign officials who accompanied Isabel during her religious rituals. It is also possible that Isabel intended to display the altarpiece more publicly during court cerimonies. The object would have functioned in a transitional space between the private devotional prayers of the queen and the more public celebration of the mass by the court.

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[375] D. Rodrigues, *Grão Vasco: Pintura portuguesa del Renacimiento, c. 1500-1540* (Salamanca: Consorcio Salamanca, 2002), 39.

Ethnic and Religious Diversity in the *Retablo de Isabel*

Because of their participation in public devotion, *retablos mayors* facilitated the creation of group identity by providing a communally owned object reflective of common beliefs.[376] On the Iberian peninsula, religious affiliation was a primary facet of fifteenth-century individual and group identity as a result of the centuries of coexistence of Muslims, Christians, and Jews.[377] The *convivencia,* or living together of different religio-ethnic groups created a unique sociocultural environment.[378]

The creation of a specifically Christian collective identity by a large-scale object that was used communally contrasts with the treatment of Jewish and Muslims figures in the *Retablo de Isabel.* While in Northern Europe it was extremely common to depict Jews among the torturers of Christ, the ethnic

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[376] Kroesen, *Staging the Liturgy*, 323-326.

[377] D. Nirenberg, "El concepto de raza en el estudio del antijudaísmo ibérico medieval," *Edad media: Revista de historia* 3 (2000): 39-60.

[378] The term *convivencia* was first used by Américo Castro in the early twentieth century. His use of the term reflected a coexistence resulting in the exchange of cultural forms, particularly linguistic. A. Castro, *España en su historia: Cristianos, moros y judíos* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1948). For an assessment of Castro's contribution to Spanish history, see J. Rodríguez-Puértolas, "A Comprehensive View of Medieval Spain," in *Américo Castro and the Meaning of Spanish Civilization*, ed. J. R. Barcia, (Berkley: University of California Press, 1976), 113-134; P. J. Smith, *Representing the Other: 'Race', Text, and Gender in Spanish and Spanish American Narrative* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 27-58. However, the concept of *convivencia* quickly developed into an idealized vision of cooperation. More recent scholarship has taken issue with this positive assesment, establishing instead a nuanced group dynamic. Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 18-40; R. A. Fletcher, *Moorish Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 131-156.

diversity of the Iberian peninsula led to the inclusion of Muslims as well.[379] As early as the twelfth century, dark skinned and turbaned figures appear in Spanish images of the Passion (fig. 104).[380] Although including Muslims in this narrative are clearly anachronistic, these figures are included so as to explicitly number Muslims among the enemies of Christ alongside the Jews.[381] In the context of the *reconquista*, these Muslim figures are militarized through their appearance among the Roman soldiers. Such propagandistic ahistorical labeling helped create the necessary fervor to maintain support for a war over five centuries, and by the late fifteenth century this iconography was common. Although the panels of the *Retablo de Isabel* were created after the expulsion of

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[379] W. C. Jordan, "The Last Tormentor of Christ: An Image of the Jew in Ancient and Medieval Exegesis, Art and Drama," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 78 (1987): 21-47; R. Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Later Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 1: 121-144; Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 69-110; J. Cohen, "The Muslim Connection, or On the Changing Role of the Jew in High Medieval Theology," in *From Witness to Witchcraft: Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought*, ed. J. Cohen, (Wiesbaden: Harrossowitz, 1996), 141-162; J. Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 160-166; D. H. Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 97-122, 165-184; J. Cohen, *Christ Killers: The Jews and the Passion from the Bible to the Big Screen* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); R. I. Morre, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Authority and Deviance in Western Europ, 950-1250*, Rev. ed.(Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2007); P. Patton, *Art of Estrangement: Redefining Jews in Reconquest Spain* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Penssylvania State University Press, 2012), 103-132.

[380] Patton, *Art of Estrangement*, 113-116; R. M. Alcoy i Pedros, "Biga de la Passió," in *Prefiguració del Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya* (Barcelona: MNAC, 1992), 168-171; J. Vivancos Pérez, "Biga de la Passió," in *Introducció a l'estudi de l'art romànic català, fons d'art romànic català del Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya*, ed. F. Mayor and A. Pladevall Font, (Barcelona: Fundació Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1992), 406-408.

[381] Cohen, "The Muslim Connection, or On the Changing Role of the Jew in High Medieval Theology," 141-162.

the Jews and the conquest of Granada, images such as the *Arrest of Christ* (fig. 105) and the *Nailing of the Cross* (fig. 10) participate in this tradition by including several distinct ethnic types. While the attempts to create a nocturnal scene in the *Arrest of Christ* hinder the ability to recognize variance in skin tone, the twisted turbaned headdress of the soldier in the foreground with his back to the viewer marks the figure as a Muslim.[382] A similar head dress is found on the figure on horsabeck in the *Nailing of the Cross* (fig. 106). His ethnicity is further connoted by his clearly darkened skin, Africanized features, and heart shaped *adarga* shield. As the inclusion of dark-skinned Muslim figures is not as common in the northern European iconographical tradition as in Iberia, these images might reflect Juan de Flandes' assimilation of Spanish themes. It is certainly possible that Juan de Flandes included the figures based on observation of local Castilian objects and perhaps conversations with the Spanish painters at Isabel's court.

In accordance with Castilian iconographies, the Muslims depicted in the *Retablo de Isabel* are presented as militaristic through their clear inclusion in the Roman legions and militerization. The implication is not simply that the

[382] In the *Retablo de Isabel,* Jewish persons can by identified by a pointed Phrygian-like cap. Muslims are identified by a turban headdress, heart-shaped shield, Africanized features, and darkened skin. These may be used in any combination to identify a figure as Moorish. On the identification of ethnic types in Europe and Iberia, see Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art*, 173-182; Patton, *Art of Estrangement*, 113-117.

Muslims are the antagonists of Christianity but that they are a military force who must be met on the battle field. Such depictions contrast with the treatment of the Jews on the right side of the composition who initiate and oversee the events but do not actively engage in them. That this differentiation is common in the broader Castilian tradition is exemplified by *Christ Carrying the Cross* by Maestro Bartolomé from the *Retablo mayor* of Ciudad Rodrigo (fig. 107). Just as in the *Nailing of the Cross*, dark skinned and turbaned figures are among the soldiers while Jewish men, identifiable by their pointed hats, walk along with the procession. Such a distinction would have been extremely poignant for Isabel due to her strong role in the War of Granada. By emphasizing the military prowess of Muslims, the *Retablo de Isabel* justifies the use of force needed to expel Emir Muhammed XII, last *caliphe* of Granada, from the Iberian Peninsula.

Multi-ethnic Castile also impacted the depictions of the *Raising of Lazarus* (fig. 108) and the *Entry into Jerusalem* (fig. 109). In the *Raising of Lazarus,* two figures stand on the right side of the composition, opposite Christ. The dark skinned and Africanized features of the first clearly identify the figure as a Moor, while the hooked-nose and full beard of the second suggest a Jew. The drawn eyebrows, crossed arms, and stern expression of the Jewish figure relate

to the broader narrative arc of the story. The alarmed reaction of the Jewish witnesses to the raising of Lazarus provoked the Pharisees and the High Priest Caiaphas to organize a plot for the capture and death of Jesus.[383] The inclusion of the figures in the composition thus alludes to later events and would create continuity between the panels of the altarpiece when installed. The relative isolation of the figures in the composition visually links the two ethnicities as equally complicit in the later events. In contrast, the *Razing of Lazarus* from the *Retablo mayor* of Ciudad Rodrigo (fig. 110) does not include Moorish figures in the composition. The originality of the inclusion of the Muslim figure in the panel painting of the *Retablo de Isabel* is further attested by a comparison with the *Raising of Lazarus* by Juan de Flandes from the church of San Lázaro in Palencia now in the Museo del Prado (fig. 111). In the doorway in the middle ground stand three observant and hostile figures. The Phrygian cap on the right most person indicates that this group is the Pharisees. However, though there are three figures visible, none are of markedly Moorish ethnicity.

The inclusion of Muslim figures in the *Entry to Jerusalem* (fig. 70,112) is likewise unconventional. Perhaps like the figure in the *Raising of Lazarus*, the dark skinned individual alludes to a malicious presence in the generally celebratory narrative. Much like the Moorish figures in the *Nailing of the Cross*

[383] John 11:45-54.

(fig. 106), the figure is militarized. He prominently holds a sword. However, the figure does not take a provocative position by openly glaring at the procession but stares off beyond the edges of the composition. Though he is presented as a member of the crowd he does not seem engaged in the action. The psychological isolation of the figure is quite different from the more traditional active engagement of the Muslims depicted among the Roman soldiers. Instead, the figure appears to be a servant to the wealthy aristocrat, possibly Fernando, who prepares to lay his golden brocaded cloak at the feet of Christ's ass. The inclusion of this figure in the *Retablo de Isabel* suggests that not all Muslims were antagonistic towards Christianity. This more nuanced depiction of ethnic diversity is furthered by the scene of the *Miracle of Loaves and Fishes* (fig. 113). To the left of Christ sits a group of women: one with darkened skin in a prominent position in the foreground wears an Andalusian *morisco* clothing style (fig. 114).[384] As the dress of the woman, the marker of her otherness, is specific to southern Spain, the image communicates an extremely localized message pertaining to the inhabitants of the newly conquered kingdom of Granada. Not only is the woman in white prominently displayed

[384] Cristoph Weiditz, *Trachtenbuch,* Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg, HS. 22474. C. Weiditz, *Authentic Everyday Dress of the Renaissance: All 154 Plates from the 'Trachtenbuch'* (New York: Dover Publications, 1994), pl. 80. See also U. Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 33-79.

with regard to composition, she is shown interacting with one of the disciples. In contrast to the Passion scenes, the *Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes* suggests the possibility of Muslim conversion. The inclusion of a young child in this context emphasizes the role of familial relations in spreading Christianity among the conquered population.[385] The importance of the conversion mission to Isabel extends beyond the mere inclusion of this iconography in her personal devotional object. A second woman seated in this group has been identified as the queen herself (fig. 115). Not only is she depicted actively listening to the teachings of Christ, but her proximity to the Muslim women reflects her personal obligation to these subjects under her rule.[386]

Nor is this nuanced depiction of ethnic otherness in the *Retablo de Isabel* limited to the Muslim inhabitants of Castile. Chiyo Ishikawa has argued that the scene of *Christ Appearing to his Mother with the Saved* (fig. 116) presents the Jews as positive figures in the salvation narrative.[387] The banderole issuing from the crowd, though much abraded, appears to state: "G . . . de: r. . . redempti / . . . (preti?)oso s(an?)guin / . . . / . . . (tui?)" (an abbreviation of 1

[385] Perry, *The Handless Maiden*, 10.
[386] Francisco Prado-Vilar argues for a similar conversion message in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* of Alfonso x, see F. Prado-Vilar, "The Gothic Anamorphic Gaze: Reguarding the Worth of Others," in '*Under the Influence*': *Questioning the Comparative in Medieval Castile* ed. C. Robinson and L. Rouhi, (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 67-100.
[387] Ishikawa, "Hernando de Talavera and Isabelline Imagery," 71-82.

Peter 1:18: you know that you were ransomed from the futile ways inherited from your fathers, not with silver or gold, but with the precious blood of Christ like that of a lamb without blemish or spot).[388] The text indicates that the souls depicted are true *conversos* who though born into Judaism, have accepted the promise of a messiah and awaited salvation in limbo (fig. 117).[389] Their inclusion with the resurrected Christ emphasizes the success of their conversion and assimilation into the heavenly host. The panel implies that, because of their previous status as the children of Israel, contemporary Castilian *conversos* deserve respectful and positive treatment as they are incorporated into the Christian fold.[390] Chiyo Ishikawa attributes the carefully constructed message in the *Retablo de Isabel* to Isabel's confessor Hernando de Talavera, who was outspoken against the injustices of the Inquisition.[391] Talavera articulated his

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[388] NIV I Peter 1:18. Campbell, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Fifteenth Century Netherlandish Schools*, 260.

[389] On the issue of cleaning the "spot" of Jewishness, see Lehfeldt, "Ruling Sexuality," 48-56. For an introduction to *converso* issues more generally, see Y. Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publications Society of America, 1961); S. Freund and T. F. Ruiz, "Jews, Conversos, and the Inquisition in Spain, 1301-1492: The Ambiguities of History," in *Jewish-Christian Encounters over the Centuries*, ed. M. Perry and F. Schweitzer, (New York: Peter Lang, 1994), 169-195; N. Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995); B. Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth Century Spain* (New York: Random House, 1995).

[390] J. Berg Sobré, "Eiximenis, Isabel de Villena and Some Fifteenth Century Illustrations of Their Works," in *Estudis de llengua, literatura i cultura catalanes: Actes del primer colloqui d'estudis catalans a Nord-América, Urbana, 30 de març - 1 d'abril de 1978*, ed. A. Porqueras Mayo, S. Baldwin, and J. Martí-Olivella, (Montserrat: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1979), 306-308.

[391] For internal Iberian anxieties over the Inquisition, see D. Graizbord, *Souls in Dispute: Converso Identities in Iberia and the Jewish Diaspora, 1500-1700* (Philidelphia: University of Pennsylvania

position early in his career in *Cátolica inpugnación.*[392] As the first Bishop of Granada, Talavera also had a vested interest in the conversion of the Muslims. Talavera argued against forced baptism and instead supported educational initiatives to introduce the tenets of Christianity to the local people.[393] The complicated depiction of ethnic and religious hegemony emphasizing the importance of Muslim conversion and *converso* education in Isabel's personal object provide divine sanction endorsement for the official policy.

The inclusion of the different ethnic groups in scenes of Christ's ministry might have inspired Isabel to redouble her efforts to create a religiously homogenous populace through the continued Christianization of *converso* and grenadine populations. And yet the traditional inclusions of Jews and Moors in scenes of Christ's Passion reflect the threat posed by these groups. The collapsing of time forces these groups to function not only as the historical nemesis who had harmed Christ in the past, but contemporary enemies of the church who continue to attempt to flaunt God's grace at every turn. The overall

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Press, 2004), 19-63; Y. Yovel, *The Other Within: The Marranos, Split Identity and Emerging Modernity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 153-175.

[392] F. H. d. Talavera, *Católica impugnación* (Barcelona: Juan Floris, 1961); F. Márquez Villanueva, "Ideas de la *Católica impugnación* de fray Hernando de Talavera," in *Las tomas: Tropología histórica de la ocupación territorial del reino de Granada*, ed. J. A. González Alcantud and M. Barrios Aguilera, (Granada: Diputación provincial de Granada, 2000), 13-32; Pereda, *Las imágenes de la discordia*, 29-43.

[393] The depiction of grenadine women in the *Miracles of Loaves and Fishes* provides further evidence for Talavera's involvement in the iconographical and narrative content of the *Retablo de Isabel.*

message is that although persons of different religious beliefs are the enemies of Christ who will continue to threaten the prosperity of the kingdom, the danger posed by these groups can be mitigated through continued conversion efforts. If they are brought into the fold of Christianity, they are neutralized and can then be integrated into the broader body politic.

It is worth noting that in order to portray this message visually the altarpiece continues to depict these persons as having stereotypical features. It was the continuation of ethnic tensions that continually led "old Christians" to bring charges of heresy against the newly converted *converso* and *morisco* communities.[394] The inability to successfully integrate these ethnic communities into the broader Castilian society led to the abuses of the Inquisition and the so-called "morisco problem" of Philip IV in the sixteenth century. While it is unwise to interpret the *Retablo de Isabel* as foreshadowing these later historical tensions, it is worth observing their nascent development

[394] While the litterautre on the Spanish Inquisition is extensive, for an introduction to the literature, see H. C. Lea, *History of the Inquisition in Spain*, 4 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1922); H. Beinart, *Conversos on Trial: The Inquisition in Ciudad Real*, 3 vols. (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1981); J. Contreras and G. Hanningsen, *The Inquisition in Early Modern Europe: Studies in Sources and Methods* (Dekalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1985); Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth Century Spain*; H. Kamen, *Spanish Inquisition: An Historical Revision* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997); Graizbord, *Souls in Dispute: Converso Identities in Iberia and the Jewish Diaspora, 1500-1700*; F. Bethencourt and J. Birrell, *The Inquisition: A Global History, 1478-1834* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Yovel, *The Other Within: The Marranos, Split Identity and Emerging Modernity*; J. Weiss, "Inquisitive Objects: Material Culture and Conversos in Early Modern Ciudad Real," *LAII Research Paper Series*, 55 (2011): 4-26.

in an object with such strong dynastic connections. The mission of the Catholic monarchs to create religious homogony across the Spanish kingdoms led to a desire to facilitate knowledge of and devotion to a standardized and regularized life of Christ based upon late Gothic devotional models. The relatively large former Jewish and Muslim populations, as well as uneducated and erroneous Christians, were sources of discomfort for Isabel.

The message of diversity becomes even more formidable if the object was intended to be placed outside of Isabel's personal viewing space after its completion. If the *Retablo de Isabel* was intended to be installed in such a way as to be visible to other viewers in the royal chapel, the images would have functioned not only as self-fashioning but also as propaganda. Instead of suggesting to Isabel how she should construct her own world view, the images would have presented to others proof of her religiosity and piety. Isabel's actions as queen come directly from Christ, who himself openly welcomes the conversion of different peoples. Castile itself is transformed. The kingdom is the land across which Jesus walked, the locus for interaction with the divine. This message of Castilian providence through the creation of religious homogony is heightened by the utilization of the *retablo mayor* format which symbolized collective devotion. Even if the viewer is not Castilian, for example

in the case of a hypothetical visiting dignitary, the form of the *retablo mayor* encountered in the various high churches across Iberia would immediately reveal the object as related to the local tradition. For a person from in the culture, the format would have invoked the shared experience of the public church.

Private Devotion as Public Policy

When used in a devotional capacity, the personalized imagery of the *Retablo de Isabel* would wrap the queen into the Christological narrative.[395] The possible inclusion of family portraits and references to her own lived experience create an object reflective of her specific meditative needs. And yet, the very qualities that personalize the visual experience also transcend the bounds of a her singular experience. Although the coats of arms identify Isabel specifically, they also refer to the broader concept of "kingdom." The inclusion of ethnically diverse figures entwines biblical with contemporary life, events creating a recognizable atmosphere while also representing the various populations under Isabel's care as ruler. This duality allows the altarpiece to

[395] The mystical presence of the devotee at events of the past was a common component to late medieval spirituality. E. H. Cousins, "Francis of Assisi: Christian Mysticism at the Crossroads," in *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought*, ed. S. T. Katz, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 166-167.

function on the level of a personal object for Isabel's devotions and also as propaganda on behalf of the queen of Castile.[396]

Ever since her fight for the crown against Juana la Beltraneja, the morality and religiosity of the queen was an integral part of her public self-fashioning.[397] During the War of Granada, Isabel cemented her public persona as a virtuous ruler. The successes of the military campaigns against the Portuguese and the Grenadines were interpreted as heavenly proof of Isabel and Fernando's favor in God's eyes. The correlation between the politico-economic reality and the piety of the body politic required that a revised and pure Christian belief be cultivated among the general population. The goal of sanctifying Iberia underscored much of the queen's specific policies, including the institution of the Inquisition, the reform of monastic orders, and the

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[396] The division of royal persona into the *natural person,* that is their individual humanity, and the *public person*, or divinely chosen immortal head of state, has led to the strong differentiation in the understanding of private and public royal objects and relationships. E. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957). For the appearance of this political theory in Spain, see F. Furió Ceriol, *El concejo y consejeros del príncipe* (Antwerp: En casa de la biuda de M. Nucio, 1559). However, Dena Goodman has argued for the need for historical mediation between the private and public political spheres in early modern France. D. Goodman, "Public Spere and Private Life: Toward a Synthesis of Current Historiographical Approaches to the Old Regime," *History and Theory* (1992): 1-20. Teofilo Ruiz has argued that unlike in France, Castile did not evoke the concept of "Sacred Monarchy" in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Ruiz, "Unsacred Monarchy: The Kings of Castile in the Late Middle Ages," 109-144; T. Ruiz, *From Heaven to Earth: The Reordering of Castilian Society, 1150-1350* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 133-150.

[397] This phenomenon is discussed in Chapter 2.

assimilation of Jewish and Muslim populations.[398] Isabel charged Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros with reforming the Christian church in Spain.[399] As the ruler of Castile, Isabel's personal religious devotion was seen as emblematic of the faith of the kingdom. Even as she performed rituals on behalf of her subjects, her actions served as models of behavior that could be mirrored by the Castilian populace. While it is unclear if, when, and by whom the *Retablo de Isabel* would have been viewed, the themes depicted on the surviving panels corresponded to the carefully cultivated public persona of the faithful ruler perpetuated through the royally sponsored chronicles, proclimations, and liturgical donations to religious institutions across the kingdom.

The meshing of secular and divine influence is mirrored visually in the inclusion of coats of arms in *Christ Calming the Sea* (fig. 118) and *Christ Appearing to Mary Alone* (fig. 64). The heraldry marks the painted panel as an object of Isabel's patronage, and at the same time the placement of the arms in the scene indicates the fictive space as included in Isabel's patronage and under

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[398] Isabel's religiosity was immediately recognized as one of the hallmarks of her reign. The role of religious unity in fostering a common identity counter to Spanish regionalism was also noted. F. J. d. Salazar, *Política Española, 1619* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1945), 151.
[399] P. Sáinz Rodríguez, *La siembra mística del Cardenal Cisneros y las reformas en la iglesia* (Madrid: Universidad Pontifica de Salamanca, 1979); D. Eisenberg, "Cisneros y la quema de los manuscritos granadinos," *Journal of Hispanic Philology* 16 (1992): 107-124; J.-I. Tellechea, "La reforma religiosa," in *La hora de Cisneros*, ed. J. F. Perez, (Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 1995), 43-56; E. Rummel, *Jiménez de Cisneros: On the Threshold of Spain's Golden Age* (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1999), 32.

her personal royal protection. The miracles of Christ are transported into spaces sponsored by Isabel, suggesting that her support of the Catholic Church in Castile provided a locus for the interaction between Christ and her subjects.

The Christianized Iberian landscape of the *Retablo de Isabel* coincided with Isabel's attempts to Christianize the peninsula through the act of Crusade. This conquest was memorialized on the choir stalls in the cathedral of Toledo where each stall includes a depiction of the successful conquest of a city, town, or castle during the Granada War (fig. 119).[400] The decision by Archbishop Pedro González de Mendoza, advisor to the queen, to depict contemporary political events on liturgical furnishings instead of the more traditional biblical narrative cycle or geometric patterning elevates the Granada campaign to the status of Holy War.[401] Defined as a divinely authorized and ecclesiastically sanctioned military action intended to "liberate" fellow Christians living under

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[400] The Northern European sculptor Rodrigo Aléman was contracted to construct the fifty-four stalls between 1489 and 1495, suggesting that the patron Archbishop Pedro González de Mendoza was exceedingly optimistic about the success of the campaign. See J. d. M. Carriazo, *Los relieves de la guerra de Granada en la silleria del coro de la catedral de Toledo* (Granada: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Granada, 1985); F. Pereda, "Los relieves toledanos de la guerra de Granada: relexiones sobre el procedimiento narrative y sus fuentas clásicas," in *Correspondencia e integracíon de las artes: Actas del XIV congreso Nacional de Historia del Arte: Málaga del 18 al 21 de septiembre de 2002*, ed. I. Coloma Martín and J. A. Sánchez López, (Madrid: Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deportes, 2003), 345-374; L. J. G. Pulido, "La imagen de Santa Fe (Granada) en la sillería del coro bajode de la catedral de Toledo," *Archivo español de arte* 77 (2005): 247-266; E. B. Ruano, "La Reina Isabel y la Guerra de Granada en relieve," in *Isabel la Católica y el Arte*, ed. G. Anes y Álvarez de Castrillón, (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2006), 144-160.

[401] For an overview of the tradtition, see D. Kraus and H. Kraus, *The Gothic Choirstalls of Spain* (London: Routledge, 1986).

Muslim rule, the Iberian conquest adhered to the concept of "just war" perpetuated since the First Crusade in 1095.[402] Although modern historians have debated whether or not the Iberian *reconquista* qualified as a crusade, fifteenth-century Spaniards had no qualms with identifying the Iberian Christian-Muslim conflict as closely related to the conflicts in the Holy Land.[403]

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[402] J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), 6-7.

[403] For an introduction to the *reconquista,* see P. Linehan, *History and Historians of Medieval Spain* (Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1993), 1-21; N. Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274-1580: from Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1992), 267-304; J. F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philidelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 3-26. Attempts have been made to connect the early *reconquista* to the eleventh-century definition of crusade, but this is problematic. See R. A. Fletcher, "Reconquest and Crusade in Spain c. 1050-1150," *Transactions of the Royal HIstorical Society* 37 (1987): 31-37. Joseph O'Callaghan, however, states that the language used by the papacy to encourage French and Italian knights to fight in the *reconquista* during the eleventh century was similar to later bulls of crusade in support of the campaign to liberate Jerusalem. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, 26. In the immediate aftermath of the First Crusade, attention turned to the Christian conquest in Spain. By the twelfth century the Spanish Crusade was recognized as such by papal authority. See G. Constable, "The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries," *Traditio* 9 (1953): 213-279; R. A. Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela* (Oxford, Enland: Oxford University Press, 1984). The inability of the kingdom of Jerusalem to maintain a strong position in the Holy Land led subsequent popes to discourage would-be crusaders from joining the Spanish front in lieu of Jerusalem. P. Linehan, *The Spanish Church and the Papacy in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 101-127; Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History*, 97, 142. The Spanish elite countered by continually defining the *reconquista* as a *cruzado* in sermons, royal decrees, and chronicles. The use of the term "crusade" in Iberian texts perpetuated the local understanding of Iberian military conflicts as essential components of the larger war against Islam. The defining of the *reconquista* as a crusade was further muddied during the fourteenth century as the language of Holy War was purposed to define conflicts between the Christian kingdoms. J. Edwards, "*Reconquista* and Crusade in Fifteenth-Century Spain," in *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century: Message and Impact*, ed. N. Housley, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 167. During the fourteenth century, the war with the kingdom of Granada was renewed and the language of crusade in Spain took on a fevered pitch. See M. A. Ladero Quesada, *Las guerras de Granada en el siglo XV* (Barcelona: Ariel, 2002), 23-27. Crusading bulls for the *reconquista* were issued by several fifteenth-century popes including Martin V, Eugene IV, Nicholas V, Sixtus IV, and Innocent V. Pope Martin V appointed the archbishop of Toledo, the

The Castilian ecclesiastical hierarchy attempted to entwine the two crusading campaigns by suggesting that a route to Jerusalem could be forged across the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa.[404] The Spanish church also lent economic support to the military campaigns by diverting a portion of collected tithes to the crown in order to finance the military efforts.[405] As early as September 12, 1478, Isabel and Fernando urged Pope Sixtus IV to reissue a crusading bull in support of the Spanish Crusade.[406] The pope complied, although the bull was limited in its power to raise the necessary funds.

After the Grenadine king Ali Abu-l-Hasan had attacked Zahara in 1481, Isabel actively encouraged a military counterstrike while ordering the Spanish delegation in Rome to pressure the papacy to shift its attention to the Iberian front. Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia of Valencia was instrumental in persuading

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archbishop of Santiago, and the bishop of Burgos as organizers of the sale of the crusading indulgence in Spain and charged the ecclesiastical hierarchy to place the cross on as many men as possible. Edwards, "*Reconquista* and Crusade in Fifteenth-Century Spain," 169. In June of 1431, Eugene IV elevated the indulgence granted to participants in the Spanish crusade to the equivalent level of the one for those who participated in the crusade to the Holy Land. He also sent papal crusading banners to be carried by the Christian forces. Ibid.

[404] Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History*, 92, 144. In the sixteenth century, the Castilian Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros did in fact continue the Spanish Crusade into North Africa. These events are depicted in the Mozarabic chapel of Toledo Cathedral. E. Dolphin, "Archbishop Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros and the Decoration of the Chapter Room and Mozarabic Chapel of Toledo Cathedral" (Institute of Fine Arts, 2008), 259-273.

[405]Pope Sixtus IV granted Isabel and Fernando rights to gather one-tenth of all revenues collected by the church in the united Spanish kingdoms in support of the war effort. These funds totald 100,000 ducats annually. Linehan, *The Spanish Church and the Papacy in the Thirteenth Century*, 101-127.

[406] Edwards, "*Reconquista* and Crusade in Fifteenth-Century Spain," 173.

Sixtus IV to issue additional papal bulls in support of the campaign.[407] The papal bulls allowed soldiers to participate in the ritualized act of taking up the cross, marking the psychological and spiritual transition between the acts of a fighter and those of a crusader. The cloth cross itself, bestowed on the recipient by the prelate and stitched to the recipients clothing, was a weighty symbol that became a touchstone for those preaching the crusade in the fifteenth century.[408] The ritualized crusader vow was also recognized with a letter of indulgence, preprinted with space for the recipient's name and stating that the indulgence is given by the pope for support of the "sagrada cruzada."[409] Isabel and Fernando publicaly purchased crusading privileges in 1482.[410] The status of the *reconquista* as a *Guerra Divinal* in fifteenth-century Castile symbolically

[407] Bernáldez, *Historia de los Reyes Católicos*, 254; Ballesteros Gallardo and Suárez Fernández, *Ysabel, la Reina Católica*, 342, 372, 381.
[408] J. Fernández Llamazares, *Historia de la bula de la Santa Cruzada* (Madrid: Impr. de Eusebio Aguado, 1859), 136-147. Fernando is described by the chronicler Bernáldez as wearing "la Cruz de la Cruzada." Bernáldez, *Historia de los Reyes Católicos*, 186.
[409] For an example from 1490, see Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas, Bridwell Library Incunabula 07047.
[410] O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, 185. Like other European monarchies, the taking of crusading vows as a public act had by this time become a tradition among Castilian and Aragonese kings. Jaime I, king of Aragon, proclaimed at the 1225 Curia of Tortosa that he and his men had taken up the cross. He renewed his crusader vow in 1229 before setting out to conquor Majorca, in 1232 before fighting in Valencia, and again in 1236 before continuing with the Valencian crusade. Edwards, "*Reconquista* and Crusade in Fifteenth-Century Spain," 136-181.

equivalent with the Eastern crusades of previous generations was perpetuated by royal chroniclers.[411]

As the Christian forces swept through the kingdom of Granada, they sanctified the individual places and spaces in a transfer of spiritual power.[412] On May 21, 1492, Cardinal Mendoza consecrated the site for the cathedral of Guadix under the authority of pope Innocent VIII.[413] Pope Sixtus IV donated a large silver cross to be carried by the Christian army; after the capture of Alhama the cross was hung from the highest tower of the largest mosque announcing the city as integrated into Christendom.[414] Mendoza relocated the silver cross to the Alhambra in 1492, symbolizing the end of Muslim authority on the Iberian Peninsula. Mendoza also displayed his own large silver processional cross from the campaign in newly conquered Granada.[415] The city was recast as a "New Jerusalem."[416] Isabel donated relics of the Passion to the cathedral, including fragments of the True Cross, thorns from the crown of

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[411] Bernáldez, *Historia de los Reyes Católicos*, 119-122.
[412] M. A. Ladero Quesado, *Castilla y la conquista del reino de Granada* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1967), 212.
[413] Archivo Catedral de Toledo I8.B.1.1. Published in Ballesteros Gallardo and Suárez Fernández, *Ysabel, la Reina Católica*, 375.
[414] Rubin, *Isabella of Castile: The First Renaissance Queen*, 198.
[415] This may be the processional cross associated with Mendoza currently in Toledo Cathedral. Ballesteros Gallardo and Suárez Fernández, *Ysabel, la Reina Católica*, 371.
[416] D. Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada: Society and Religious Culture in an Old-World Frontier City (1492-1600)* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 91-118; K. Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada: Inventing a City's Past in Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 8-27.

thorns, and dried flecks of Christ's blood. The first bishop of Granada, Hernando de Talavera, textually conflated the conquest of Granad, that of the Holy Land, and devotional power when in his *ofacio de la toma de Granada* he inserted the history of the campaign into the liturgical ritual of the Eucharist.[417] The Christianization effort culminated in the sixteenth-century cathedral of Granada which was constructed with an almost perfectly circular apse so as to invoke the Church of the Holy Sepulcher.[418]

The equating of the successful conquest of Granada as typologically connected to the re-Christianization of Jerusalem was then propagandized across Europe through the celebration of the "rediscovery" of the titulus relic. On February 1, 1492, the same day that news of the fall of Granada reached Rome, workmen carrying out repairs at the Basilica de Santa Croce discovered a fragment of the sign nailed to the cross in a niche above the triumphal arch above the apse.[419] According to the titular cardinal of the church, Pedro

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[417] Ballesteros Gallardo and Suárez Fernández, *Ysabel, la Reina Católica*, 362.
[418] Rosenthal, *The Cathedral of Granada*, 148-168.
[419] H. Nicquet, *Titulus S. Crucis, seu Historia et mysterium tituli Sanctae Crucis Domini nostri Jesu Christi* (Paris: A. Bertier, 1648), 144-148; F. Cappalletti, "L'affresco nel catino absidale di Santa Croce in Gerusalemme a Roma: La fonte iconografica, la committenza e la datazione," *Storia dell'arte* 66 (1989): 119-126; M. J. Gill, "Antoniazzo Romano and the Rediscovery of Jerusalem in Late Fifteenth-Century Rome," *Storia dell'arte* 83 (1995): 32-33; M. L. Rigato, "'Titulus crucis': Reliquia custodita nella Basilica Santa Croce in Gerusalemme a Roma," in *Atti del VII Simposio di Efeso su S. Giovanni Apostolo*, ed. L. Padovese, (Rome: Instituto francescano di Spiritualità, Potrificio Ateneo Antoniano, 1999), 329-336; M. Hesemann, *Die Jesus-Tafel: Die Entdeckung der Kreuz-Inschrift* (Freidburg: Herder, 1999), 239; C. P. Thiede and M. d'Ancona, *The Quest for the*

González de Mendoza, the relic was brought to Rome by Helena at the same time as the dirt from the foot of the cross but had been lost since the twelfth century.[420] The rediscovery of the relic was presented as proof of divine favor and validation of the Spanish crusade, and the relic was promoted through prints (fig. 120).[421] Although the publication of the relic did not result in broad incorporation of its form into contemporary images of the crucifixion, the inclusion of the relic in the *retablo mayor* of Miraflores (fig. 121) and the *Triptych of the Deposition* from the convent in La Rioja by the Master of the Holy Blood (fig. 81) suggests an interest in the relic by Isabel and contemporary Castilians.[422]

True Cross (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), 38-58; Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 219-235.

[420] Radio-carbon dating has established that the titulus was fabricated in the eleventh or twelfth centuries, although this does not preclude the possibility that it replaced an earlier object. F. Bella, and Carlo Azzi, "14c Dating of the 'Titulus Crucis'," *Radiocarbon* 44 (2002): 685-689. The "rediscovery" also appears to have been an invention as the object had been visible only forty years previously. N. Muffel, *Nikolaus Muffels Beschreibung der Stadt Rom* (Tübingen: Litterarischer Verein, 1876), 35; Tafur, *Travels and Adventures, 1435-1439*, 41.

[421] Two prints survive in a single impression each pasted in Hartmann Schedel's *World Chronicle.* Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Rar. 287- Cim. 187, Fol. 334r-334v. B. Hernad, *Die graphiksammlung des Humanisten Hartmann Schedel* (Munch: Prestel, 1990), 55; R. Budde and R. Krischel, eds., *Genie ohne Namen: Der Meister des Bartholomäus-Altars* (Cologne: DuMont, 2001), 410; Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 224-227.

[422] Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 225-239. For the *retablo mayor* by Gil de Silo see Yarza Luaces, "El retablo mayor de la Cartuja de Miraflores," 207-238. For the *Triptych of the Passion,* see Bermejo, "Las tablas flamencas," 188-192. On the *Deposition,* see Fernández Pardo, *Las tablas flamencas en la Ruta Jacobea*, 320-323. The *Deposition* is especially interesting as Max Friedländer has proposed that the absence of donor portraits in the oeuvre of the Master of the Holy Blood suggest that his objects were made for sale on the open market, presumably for export. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 2: 98. Friedländer is supported by the provenance of the *Deposition* from a convent on the Road of St. James. Fernández Pardo, *Las*

Even as the re-consecration of Al-Andalus fell to ecclesiastics, Isabel was an active promoter of the Christianization effort. The donation of liturgical implements necessary for the enactment of holy ritual was an important component of her participation in the Granada campaign.[423] Pulgar relates how after capturing Ronda, Isabel donated "crosses and chalices, and silver censers, vestments of silk and brocade, and retables and sculptures and books, and bells, and all other ornaments that are necessary for the celebration of the divine cult."[424] The donation to Ronda provided the people of the town with the ability to practice the rituals of Christianity with the queen's support. Although the donation of religious objects was not unique to Isabel, the inclusion of her arms and likeness in donated objects provided constant reminders of her concern for the religiosity of her subjects. These donations allowed for the

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tablas flamencas en la Ruta Jacobea, 320-323. The appearance of the Titulus relic in this context suggests the possible presumption by the northern European painter that the relic held particular interest for a Spanish viewer, indicating a broader European understanding of the relationship between the discovery of the Titulus relic and the Spanish crusade. On the creation of Netherlandish objects for the Spanish art market more generally see N. de Marchi and H. J. van Miergoet, "Exploring Markets for Netherlandish Paintings in Spain and Nueva España," in *Kunst voor de markt 1500-1700*, ed. R. Falkenburg, (Zwolle: Waanders, 2000), 81-111; P. Vermeylen, "Exporting Art across the Globe: The Antwerp Art Market in the Sixteenth Century," in *Kunst voor de markt, 1500-1700*, ed. R. Falkenburg, *Nederlands Kunsthistorich jaarboek* (Zwolle: Waander, 2000), 13-29.

[423] Isabel's liturgical donations were not limited to newly conquered territories. In 1482 Isabel donated permanent lamps to the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela in order to provide light for the pilgrims so that they could continue to offer up prayers and devotions through the night. L. Vázquez de Parga, J. M. Lacarra, and J. Uría Ríu, *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Escuela de Estudios Medievales, 1948-1949), 1: 100.

[424] Pulgar, *Cronica de los senores Reyes Catolicos*, 253.

creation of religious homogony as well as providing proof of the wealth and status of Isabel as patron.[425] Moreover, it is probable that the items donated by Isabel were representative of her aesthetic preferences. The paintings, sculptures, and illuminated manuscripts were likely representative of the Franco-Flemish visual style, promoting Northern European visual language across Al-Andalus. As Flemish painting in particular was associated with devotional efficacy, its use in the Christianization of formerly Islamic territory facilitated the substitution chain from the Holy land, through Byzantium, to Flanders, into Castile. The installation of Isabel's preferred paintings into her funerary complex in Granada, the majority of which were Flemish in origin, provided a tangible link between the monarchy, Granada, and all Christendom.

Although the success of the Granada crusade was implicitly understood as indebted to God's divine favor, the rituals associated with the establishing of Christian territory provided opportunities for slippage between the powers of the divine and the powers of state. After the siege at Malaga, Isabel visited the Christian troops to increase morale. She refused to enter the city until the religious space had been rededicated to the Christian faith. The bishop of Avila processed to the mosque and rededicated the space as Santa Maria de la

[425] Molina I Figueras, *Arte, devoción y poder en la pintura tardogótica catalana*, 171.

Encarnación.[426] Fernando and Isabel then entered the city in a royal procession while the people sang the "te deum laudamus" to the ringing bells. However, there was also the chanting of "Castile, Castile, Castile, for the king don Fernando and queen dona Isabel."[427] The taking of Malaga was therefore presented as a change of both spiritual and political identity for the city. Isabel and Fernando further conflated the Granada campaign as both crusade and political colonialism by celebrating the new lands assimilated into their reign. The pomegranate, symbol of kingdom of Granada, was incorporated into the royal coat of arms (fig. 122).[428] The new heraldry was displayed at royal institutions, such as in the clothing worn by the sculpted heralds placed on the exterior of San Juan de los Reyes (fig. 123).

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[426] Pulgar, *Cronica de los senores Reyes Catolicos*, 248-249.
[427] M. D. d. Valera, *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*, *Anejos de la Revista de Filología Española* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cietíficas, 1927), 268-269.
[428] Weissberger, *Isabel Rules*, 47-55. The pomegranate was a popular fifteenth-century symbol, representing fertility, immortality, and regal status. In the Old Testament, Moses wore a garment woven with images of pomegranates, while Persephone's ingestion of pomegranate seeds resulted in her spending half the year in the underworld. The form of the fruit itself, the cluster of seeds in a harder casing topped with crown-like circle of points facilitated a Christological interpretation of the unity of the Church protected by the Virgin. It was, furthermore, a symbole of monarchy. For example, Albrecht Dürer's posthumous portrait of Maximilian in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, presents the emperor holding a pomegranate in place of the imperial orb. Pomegranates were also symbolic of exotic luxury due to their cultivation in Islamic lands and their prevalence as decoration on patterned silks. R. Bonito Fanelli, "The Pomegranate Motif in Italian Renaissance Silks: A Semiological Interpretation of Pattern and Color," in *La seta in Europa secc. XIII-XX: Atti della "Ventiquattresima Settimana di Studi", 4-9 maggio 1992* ed. S. Cavaciocchi, (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1993), 514-515; Monnas, *Merchants, Princes and Painters*, 218-221, 258-267.

Because of her status as a crusader, the queen was able to incorporate her religiosity into her public self-fashioning. Throughout her reign, the queen maintained daily prayers, and her private life was never completely separate from her public persona. Even as she prayed for the health of her family, she was requesting divine assistance on behalf of the Trastamara dynasty. Isabel's life, fortune, and family were intimately entwined with the development of her kingdom. As the symbolic "parent" of Castile, Isabel's faith provided guidance for the continuation of the collective. Paintings such as the *Virgin with the Catholic Kings* now in the Museo del Prado (fig. 124), the *Virgin and the Fly* (fig. 66), and the sculptures installed in the cathedral of Granada (fig. 125) publicly represent Isabel as actively engaged in the act of prayer. The works present her as a devout ruler, blessed by heaven. In the *Virgin with the Catholic Kings* the similarity in color and cloth between the dress worn by the Virgin and that of Isabel create a sense of continuity and equality between the figures. And yet the space between Mary and the royal family is interupted by the relatively austere robes of Sts. Thomas Aquinas and Dominic. The inclusion of the royal confessors suggests that the appearance of Mary and the Christ Child occur through the specific rituals of the Catholic Church. The choice to include the Dominican saints suggests the monarch's role in providing spiritual guidance

for their subjects. Much like the patronage of ecclesiastical foundations, this image suggests that the private devotion of the queen for her own soul cannot be separated from her concern for the religious needs of her people.

The dissolution of the traditional boundaries between individual devotion and public worship indicated by the complicated functionality of the *Retablo de Isabel,* if installed as a *retablo mayor* upon completion, reveals the importance of faith in Isabel's creation of queenship. The utilization of a specifically Castilian altar form, that is unique in Europe, suggests the continuation of local pride tradition. The format itself, with its suggestion of collective worship, might have reminded Isabel that each of her actions had implications for her subjects. The emphasis on Castile in the individual scenes of the altarpiece would have made this connection all the more prevailing. The queen and her circle of advisors believed that the decline in Christian faith among past generations had brought the Spanish monarchies to the brink of ruin.[429] Only through a restoration of true Christian virtue and religious practice could Iberia return to economic prosperity and peace. The religious disposition of the populace was thus not only a moral, but also an economic and political responsibility of the crown.

[429] This is discussed in chapter 2.

Mary as Exemplar of Castilian Queenship

The mixture of Netherlandish devotional ideals, Castilian experience, and the formation of royal identities come together in the image of Virgin Mary who provides a visual guide to the proper attitudes to invoke while meditating upon the events of Christ's life, specifically emphasizing supplication, humility, and serene faith.[430] In the *Marriage at Cana* (fig. 126) Mary sits with her hands clasped in prayer while Christ performs the blessing that will transform the water into wine. Although her body is turned towards Christ, she does not look at him. Instead she gazes out into a middle space between Christ and the viewer. Her gaze serves as a visual intermediary. Moreover, the passivity of her expression and lack of interaction with other figures in the scene suggest that though she is corporally present at the event her thoughts are turned toward heavenly matters. The importance of Mary as a devotional model continues through the other post-resurrection scenes: *Christ appears to Mary Alone* (fig. 64), *Christ appears to Mary with the Saved* (fig. 116), and *Pentecost* (fig. 127). The non-biblical scenes of Christ appearing to his mother reveal the influence of devotional literature upon the *Retablo de Isabel*. These episodes

[430] Ishikawa, "Hernando de Talavera and Isabelline Imagery," 75.

appear in the writings of Pseudo-Bonaventure and Ximeinez.[431] During the reign of Isabel, the scene was popularized by Sor Isabel de Villena, abbess of the Franciscan convent Sortisina Trinidad of Valencia. Sor Isabel, a distant relative of both Fernando and Isabel, received royal patronage. However, the images in the *Retablo de Isabel* do not directly illustrate any single textual source. Instead, the images depict an interpretation of the apocryphal events relative to the particular devotional needs of Isabel.

As a reinterpretation of the Annunciation image-type, *Christ appears to Mary Alone* has Mary seated before an open book. That she has been surprised by the appearance of her visitor is suggested by the clamping of her left hand to her chest. And yet with her right, she delicately marks her place in the text. The image of Mary kneeling in her private domestic space before a devotional text provides a biblical precedent for the behavior of the queen. It is this position that Isabel herself takes in the *Virgin of the Catholic Kings* (fig. 124).[432] The meditative attitude of the Virgin is emphasized even further in *Christ appears to Mary with the Saved* (fig. 116). Here the viewer finds Mary seated on a cushion at the foot of her bed, in a posture of humility. Her hands are clasped

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[431] Pseudo-Bonaventure, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century, Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, MS. Ital. 115*, trans. I. Ragusa and R. B. Green (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), 359.
[432] S. Caballero Escamilla, "La Virgen de los Reyes Católicos: Escaparate de un poder personal e institucional," *Reales Sitios* 173 (2007): 20-41.

in prayer, and a book lies open at her side. Christ appears surrounded by the newly saved Jewish souls from limbo. Mary, however, does not appear to recognize the miraculous appearance. Much like she does in the *Marriage at Cana* (fig. 126), Mary gazes off into the space on the left-hand side of the panel creating a conceptual bridge with her gaze between the viewer and Christ.

The contrast in reaction between the two scenes of Christ appearing to his mother is heightened by the inscriptions. In *Christ appears to Mary Alone* (fig. 64) Christ's words "RESVREXI ADUC ECUM SVM ALLELUYA" (*I have risen and I am with you, Alleluia*) appear in gold paint across the scene.[433] The inscription is suggestive of a speech-act both in its syntax and visuallity. The use of the first person singular verb forms for "resurexi" and "sum" emphasize the text as words spoken by Christ. The conversational qualities of the statement are heightened by the inclusion of "tecum" which implies a recipient for the statement. Visually, the text begins directly next to Christ's mouth and angles downward toward the seated Virgin, coming to completion in the vicinity of ear. The overlay of the text upon the depicted space of the room allows the words to inhabit the interior conceptually. In contrast, the inscriptions in *Christ appears to Mary with the Saved* (fig. 116) appear upon banderoles that flutter about the room. While the depiction of the banderols,

[433] Psalm 138:5-6.

with their twists and turns back upon themselves, it is difficult to see the scrolls as physically present in the pace due to their lack of response to the lighting and spatial relationships in the composition. Instead, they provide loci for conceptual ideas related to the subject of the scene. Although the phrases continue to utilize the first and second person, exemplified by Christ's scroll which reads "Mater, mea: dulcissima ego. Sum. Resurexi: / ad huc:/ (sum tecum?): em…/ …/ …oser…" (*My sweetest mother, it is I. I have risen and still am with you…*).[434] The scroll does not serve as a connection between the figures. While it begins at Christ's mouth, implicating speech, the end of the scroll falls away from the Virgin towards the floor. Her response, "Gaud(ete ga?) udebo et exultabo: in to deo. Et/ Jh[es]u. meo" (*Rejoice, I will rejoice and exult in thee my God and Jesus*) issues not from her mouth or even her head, but from the hands clasped in prayer .[435] The scroll flows not towards Jesus but away from him in order to encircle Mary. The third banderole, issuing from crowd of souls in the vicinity of John the Baptist "G…de: r...redempti / . . . (preti?)oso s(an?)guin / . . . / . . . (tui?)" (*. . . redeemed. . . with precious blood . . .)* refers to the ability of the

[434] Adapted from the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* chapter 86. Pseudo-Bonaventure, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century, Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, MS. Ital. 115*; Campbell, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Fifteenth Century Netherlandish Schools*, 262.
[435] Habbakkuk 3:18. Campbell, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Fifteenth Century Netherlandish Schools*, 262.

souls to appear in the presence of Jesus due to his redemption.[436] However, much like the scroll associated with Mary, the parchment flutters up and away from the other participants of the scene and instead encircles the persons to whom the text refers. This de-emphasis on interaction between figures isolates Mary, and is supported visually by the compositional chasm between the figures, with Mary on the right hand side and all the other figures on the left. The deep red of the bed hangings repeated in Christ's robes furthers the visual separation between Mary, her son, and the souls from limbo. The combination of these attempts to disjoin the figures along with Mary's posture suggests that though the figures are depicted together, they do not inhabit the same physical space. Instead, the interaction between the figures occurs during Mary's devotional practice in the space of her internal vision.

Mary's demonstration of how devotional practices allow for communion with the divine comes to a finale in the scene of *Pentecost* (fig. 127). Even as the communal nature of this event is necessitated by the narrative, Juan de Flandes suggests Mary's solitary position in the scene through her elevation above the disciples. She is presented frontally and in full view of the viewer, unlike all the other figures in the composition. Her position at the center of the group creates a vertical connection to the Holy Spirit in the form of the dove. This

[436] 1 Peter 1:18. Ibid.

connection is furthered by the deep shadows on Mary's side. The strong use of chiaroscuro emphasizes the divine light of heaven at the same time as it creates a strong vertical for the relatively pyramidal form of Mary. Unlike the surrounding men, Mary does not look up toward the miraculous sight. Instead, she gazes off into the distance in a state of internal contemplation.

While the function of Mary as a model of devotional behavior is not at all unique to the *Retablo de Isabel,* to Iberian painting, or even to the late fifteenth century, its use in an object so closely associated with queen reflects the propaganda that directly linked Isabel to the Virgin.[437] The public image of the queen emphasized her chastity and self-sacrifice, qualities associated with the Virgin Mary. The comparison was made explicit by writers such as Diego de Valera, saying:

> just as our Lord wished that our glorious Lady might be born in the world because from her would proceed the Universal redeemer of the human lineage, so he determined that you, my Lady [Isabel], would be born to reform and restore these kingdoms and lead them out from the tyrannical government under which they have been for so long.[438]

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[437] R. E. Surtz, "The Reciprocal Construction of Isabelline Book Patronage," in *Queen Isabel I of Castile: Power, Patronage Persona*, ed. B. F. Weissberger, (New York: Tamesis, 2008), 55-70. It has been noted that the messianic tinges of Isabel's public persona were perpetuated by *converso* authors. A. Castro, "Messianismo, espiritualismo y actitud personal," in *Aspectos del vivir hispánico* (Madrid: Alianza, 1970), 42-60.

[438] M. D. d. Valera, *Epístolas de Mosen Diego de Valera: Embiadas en diversos tiempos é á diversas personas* (Madrid: Impr. de M. Ginesta, 1878), epís. 13, 17. Translated in Liss, *Isabel the Queen*, 177.

Similarly, Alfonso describes Isabel's healing of the body politic after Enrique IV as "the extraordinary and renowned virtue of one woman who has remedied the original pollution that the corrupt one introduced into the world since the beginning."[439] Isabel also publicly imitated the early events from the Life of Christ in her courtly rituals. Shortly after the prince's birth, Isabel held a grand procession from the Alcázar in Seville to the church of Santa María la Mayor where she formally presented the child to God, replicating the Virgin's presentation of Christ in the temple. The messianic royal language permeated the court, impacting the understanding of the roles played by those surrounding the queen. The royal chronicler Gonzalo Fernández de Ovieda likened his position as *cronista del rey* to the evangelists in that he was responsible for memorializing the glories of the crown so that they could be remembered by future generations.[440]

Isabel directly sponsored texts that encouraged conflation between her own image and that of the Virgin Mary. As early as her coronation in 1474, the composition of didactic literature for the new queen presented female rulership

[439] Palencia, *Cronica de Enrique IV*, 1: 132.
[440] G. Fernández de Oviedo, *Libro de la cámara real del príncipe don Juan* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1880), 174.

in Castile as typologically related to Mary's position as the Queen of Heaven.[441] After Enrique IV agreed to recognize Isabel as his legitimate heir, the Augustinian friar Fray Martín de Córdoba composed the *Jardín de nobles doncellas* for the young princess.[442] This text describes the ideal qualities for the future queen. Frey Martín articulated the danger and potential for female rule

[441] Azcona argues that the earliest text to compare Isabel to the Virgin is the *Regimiento de príncipes* written by Gómez Manrique. This text was dedicated to both Fernando and Isabel and advised the future monarchs to avoid bad council. Because of its dual dedication, this work is an interesting example of Castilian expectations concerning the relationship between queen and king with the sections dedicated to Fernando describing the need for careful attention to delicate affairs of state while avoiding "effeminate" qualities and "feminine" counsel. Isabel is then encouraged to work against her negative female nature. G. Manrique, *Cancionero de Gómez Manrique*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Imprenta A. Pérez Dubrill, 1885-6), 2: 164-196; de Azcona, *Isabel la Católica: Estudio critic*, 311; Weissberger, *Isabel Rules*, 55-59. The *Regimiento de príncipes* was not the only work associated with Isabel in the tradition of the *speculum principis*. Inventories of Isabel's library list a half dozen other examples of this genre. F. M. d. Córdoba, *Jardín de nobles doncellas* (Chapel Hill, NC: Romance, 1974), 45. Isabel sponsored the printing of two didactic works during the 1480s, both the text by Gómez Manrique and another unidentifiable except by title. de Azcona, *Isabel la Católica: Estudio critic*, 311. Iñigo de Mendoza also composed a trilogy of didactic political poems for Isabel and Fernando during the five-year war of succession, including *Dechado a la muy escelente Reina Doña Isabel, nuestra soberana señora.*

[442] This work was probably commissioned between the death of Prince Alfonso in July of 1468 and Isabel's marriage to Fernando in October of 1469. Frey Martín de Córdoba was a lector at the Augustinian convent of Salamanca. He spent a period at the University of Toulous, and eventually was elevated to chair at the University of Salamanca after 1461. For modern versions of this text, see F. M. d. Córdoba, "Jardín de nobles doncellas," in *Prosistas castellanos del siglo XV*, ed. F. Rubio Alvarez, (Madrid: Atlas, 1964), 2: 65-117; Córdoba, *Jardín de nobles doncellas*. For discussion of the role played by this text in the articulation of possible proto-feminist attitudes toward female power, see R. Walthaus, "Gender, revalorización y marginalización: La defensa de la mujer en el siglo XV," in *Literatura medieval: Actas do IV congresso da associaçâo hispânica de literatura medieval*, ed. A. Nascimento and C. Almeida Ribeiro, (Lisbon: Ediçoes Cosmos, 1993), 269-274; C. Soriano, "Conveniencia política y tópico literario en el *Jardin de nobles doncellas* (1468?) de Fray Martín Alonso de Córdoba," in *Actas del VI Congreso Internacional de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval (Alcalá de Henares, 12-16 de septiembre de 1995)* (Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá, 1997), 1457-1466; Lehfeldt, "Ruling Sexuality," 31-56; Weissberger, *Isabel Rules*, 28-68; Liss, *Isabel the Queen*, 69-70; Guardiola-Griffiths, *Legitimizing the Queen*, 23-44.

by contrasting the fall of Eve to the redemptive qualities of the Virgin Mary.[443] Even as Frey Martín argued for Isabel's right to ascend the throne the text, and the endorsement of trandetional gender roles, he problematized feminine leadership by clearly assuming that Isabel would defer rulership of the kingdom to her husband. [444] However, Frey Martín encouraged the young princess to emulate the queen of Heaven as she prepares to become queen of Castile by cultivating her modesty, piety, and compassion.[445] In doing so, Frey Martín cultivated a symbolic relationship between Isabel and Mary even as he attempted to situate Isabel in conventional positive and negative feminine stereotypes. Mary was understood in medieval theology as the counterpoint to

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[443] Frey Martín encouraged Isabel's submissiveness by emphasizing that women were morally weaker than men as a result of their secondary creation from Adam's rib as well as Eve's primary role in the downfall of humankind in the Garden of Eden. Frey Martín devotes nearly a third of his text to explaining Eve's creation and the implications for feminine weakness, and nearly all of his advice to Isabel is encouragement for her to control the innate vices to which women are subject, stating that though she may be a woman by nature, she should strive to be a man by virtue. Córdoba, "Jardín de nobles doncellas," 282. Because of this inferiority, a woman must submit to her husband as a subject submits to his king. Frey Mártin bases his analysis of proper gender roles on Saint Augustine's commentaries on the Book of Genesis. For further analysis of Augustine's contribution to medieval misogyny, see H. Bloch, *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 37-64; E. J. Burns, *Bodytalk: When Women Speak in Old French Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 73-76.

[444] Weissberger, *Isabel Rules*, 31-32.

[445] Frey Martín argues that the only way for Isabel to conquer her lustful feminine appetite is to emulate the chastity of the Virgin. Martín claims that Isabel and the Virgin are alike in three ways: because they are both *donzellas,* they are of royal birth, and each expects to be queen. Córdoba, "Jardín de nobles doncellas," 164. The emphasis on feminine appetites was an especially useful construct for Frey Martín as it also corresponded to the need to differentiate between Isabel and her rival Juana la Beltraneja who was associated with the sexual misconduct of her father Enrique IV.

Eve, who had not been able to keep her appetite in check.[446] It is through self-governance of her desires, both carnal and economic, that Isabel will be able to transcend her natural state to be transfigured as queen of Castile. Although Frey Martín's attention to Isabel's sexuality reinforces the gender normative social patriarchy, Isabel deftly manipulated the power of the male line to emphasize her legitimacy as the "daughter of the king" while describing her rival as the "daughter of the queen."[447] The emphasis on Isabel's association with the Virgin therefore served as a counterpoint to the lasciviousness of the effeminate Enrique IV, his foreign wife Juana of Portugal, and his daughter Juana la Beltraneja, all of whom personified the negative Eve.[448] This is stated explicitly where Isabel is presented as an image of positive queenship that has healed the body politic.[449] After the death of Prince Juan, when the fate of the kingdom once again looked likely to pass to female rule under Princess Juana,

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[446] For an analysis of the Eve/Mary duality in the medieval tradition see E. Power, "The Position of Women," in *The Legacy of the Middle Ages*, ed. G. C. Crump and E. F. Jacob, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1926), 130-153; M. Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary* (New York: Knopf, 1976), 51-69; C. Peters, *Patterns of Piety: Women, Gender and Religion in Late Medieval and Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 130-153.
[447] This phrase appears many times in Valer's *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*.
[448] P. McCracken, "The Body Politic and the Queen's Adulterous Body in French Romance," in *Feminist Approaches to the Body in Medieval Literature*, ed. L. Lomperis and S. Stanbury, (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1994), 43.
[449] Pulgar, *Cronica de los senores Reyes Catolicos*, 3, 7. For pre-modern understanding of the king's body natural and the body politic as distinct yet related, see Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology*; M. Axton, *The Queen's Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977).

Isabel chose to publish the *Jardín de nobles doncellas* in 1500.[450] The distribution of this text destigmatized female rule by overtly equating Isabel with Mary, creating space for the future Queen Juana.

The royal chroniclers furthered the public image of Isabel as like that of the queen of Heaven.[451] The birth of Prince Juan as a monarch who would properly unify the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon was described in messianic language.[452] The deaths that plagued the royal household, beginning with the death of Prince Juan in 1497, led the chronicler Andrés Bernáldez to compare the grief of the queen with the sorrows of the Virgin. He described each event as "a knife of grief that stabbed the spirit of Doña Queen Isabel."[453] Contemporary writers even went so far as to associate Isabel with the controversial doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, suggesting that she also was not tainted by the acts of conception and childbirth.[454] Although the *Retablo de Isabel* never overtly compares Isabel with the Virgin, Peggy Liss and

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[450] Córdoba, *Jardín de nobles doncellas*; Liss, *Isabel the Queen*, 53.
[451] A similar messianic strategy was continued by Isabel's great-grandson Philip II in the service of his world-wide empire. M. Bataillon, *Erasmo y España: Estudios sobre la historia espiritual del siglo XVI*, 2nd ed.(Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1950), 226-231; F. A. Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1975), 1-28.
[452] Liss, *Isabel the Queen*, 160. Interestingly, similar language was used by Jean Melinier in his descriptions of the birth of Philip the Fair. Molinet, *Chroniques*, 1: 273; P. Jodogne, "La rhétorique dans l'historiographie bourguignonne," in *Culture et pouvoir au temps de l'humanisme et de la Renaissance: Actes du Congrès Marguerite de Savoie, Annecy-Chambéry, 29 avril–4 mai 1974*, ed. L. Terreaux, (Paris: Champion, 1978), 51-69; Strøm-Olsen, "Narrative, Ritual and History," 118-133.
[453] A. Bernáldez, *Memorias del reinado de los Reyes Catolicos* (Madrid: Blass, S. A., 1962), 503.
[454] Lehfeldt, "Ruling Sexuality," 51-53; Liss, *Isabel the Queen*, 185-161.

Barbara Weissburger have argued that many contemporary Castilians would have understood verbal discussions of the Virgin to contain the subtext that Isabel the Catholic is like the Virgin. It stands to reason that visual depictions of Mary would have functioned similarly. This subtext would have been at its strongest in an object so closely associated with the queen.

The comparison between the queen of Castile and the queen of Heaven allowed Isabel to function as both an intercessor and a model of devotional practice for the subjects of her kingdom. Just as Mary served as an intermediary and a pedagogical model of the proper attitudes for Christians to assume while contemplating the mysteries of the faith and the events of the salvation narrative, so too Isabel's personal acts of devotion became an exemplar for the whole of the united Spanish kingdoms even as she served as an advocate for her subjects' welfare.[455] The importance of the queen as both model of behavior and a shepherd of her people is presented in the *Retablo de Isabel*. In the *Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes* (fig. 113). Isabel listens carefully to the direct words of Christ. Her clasped hands and relaxed visage suggest that she is not looking directly at Christ like many of the figures surrounding her, she is internalizing his words and meditating on his message. The public side

[455] Fray Martin admonishes Isabel to serve as a mother, advocate, and shield for her people. Córdoba, *Jardín de nobles doncellas*, 199.

of Isabel's personal devotion is epitomized by the institution of San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo. The monastery functioned as an ex-votive. Isabel instituted the monastery in thanks to Virgin for the victory at the Battle of Toro, a pivotal battle in the war with the Portuguese to establish the legitimate ruler of Castile. In general, votive donations marked the direct interaction of the divine in an individual's life. As such they embody the personal relationship between the believer and God. And yet, the display of ex-votives en mass in the context of a shrine allowed the individual objects to facilitate the creation of group identity.[456] Even as the individual body parts marked a particular experience, the repetition of forms created a generalized statement about the intercessory power of the saint to whom the shrine was dedicated. This is not to suggest that there was not also a tradition of highly personalized ex-votives but that objects functioned as a negotiation between the personal religious experience of the individual and the experience of the collective. At San Juan do los Reyes, Isabel renegotiated the power structure of the ex-votive by turning the emphasis of display back upon the experience of the individual through the strong use of heraldry, emblems, and other personal references in every aspect of the visual program (fig. 21, 74, 123). Unlike a sculpted likeness of Isabel set in perpetual devotion, such as that installed in the cathedral of Granada (fig.

[456] van der Velden, *The Donor's Image*, 253-254.

125), or the numerous painted images of the queen at prayer (fig. 124), the emphasis upon heraldry at San Juan de los Reyes identifies Isabel as the queen of Castile.[457] The divine intervention at the Battle of Toro celebrated by San Juan de los Reyes was both a personal victory for Fernando and Isabel and a revelation of God's plan for the kingdom.

The manipulation of royal identity is furthered by the decision to locate the monastery in the city of Toledo, which since its recapture in the *reconquista,* had been the unofficial capital of Castile. Isabel furthered the connection between her socio-political ambitions and San Juan de los Reyes when, after the successful conquest of Granada, Isabel sent the chains of the liberated Christian prisoners of war for display on the exterior walls (fig. 128). Through their presentation, the chains are transformed from simple metalwork restraints into relics of the war in Granada, votive representations of God's favor for the campaign, and propaganda meant to communicate the power of the monarchy. The successful establishment of Christian homogony became a turning point within Castilian temporal reckoning. The bishop of Toledo Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros installed an inscription in the scriptorium of the cathedral of Toledo stating:

[457] F. J. Sánchez Cantón, *Los retratos de los reyes de España* (Barcelon: Ediciones Omega, 1948), 36.

> in the year 1492, on the second day of January, Granada was taken with all its kingdom by your kings lord don Fernando and doña Isabel, being archbishop of this sacred church the revered don Pedro González de Mendoza, cardinal of Spain. This same year, at the end of July, all the Jews were expelled from all the kingdoms of Castile, Aragon, and Sicily. The following year of 93, at the end of January, this church was finished.[458]

The visual program of the monastery, along with other public demonstrations of Isabel's piety, such as the donation of liturgical implements to churches in newly conquered towns of Al-Andalus, created a public image of the queen as an extremely devout person who in turn was favored by God. In fact, the success of the War of Granada was attributed by the chronicles as much to Isabel's sponsorship of masses, fasts, and personal prayers, as to Fernando's lance.[459] Lucio Marineo Sículo, an Italian visitor to the Isabelline court, described how every day the queen would follow the canonical hours as well as other devotions and that her awareness of liturgical prayers was so vast she took note if mistakes were made in the words said at mass or recitation of the Psalms so that she could rectify and correct the mistake.[460]

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[458] *En el anode mil e cuatrocientos e noventa e dos, a dos días del mes de enero, fue tomada Granada con todo su reingo por los reyes nuestros señores don Fernando e doña Isabel, siendo arzobispo de esta santa iglesia el reverendísimo señor don Pedro González de Mendoza, cardinal de España. Este msimo año, en fin del mes de Julio, fueron echados todos los judíos de todos los reinos de Castilla, de Aragón e de Sicilia. El ano siguiente de noventa e tres, en fin del mes de enero, fué acabada esta santa iglesia.*

[459] Valera, "Memorial de diversas hazañas," 7; H. Pulgar, "Continuación de la crónica de Pulgar," in *Crónica de los reyes de Castilla*, ed. C. Rosell, (Madrid: Atlas, 1953), 522.

[460] M. Ballesteros Gaibrois, *La obra de Isabel la Católica* (Segovia: Díputación Provincial de Segovia, 1953), 134.

Isabel's inclusion in the crowd in the *Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes* emphasizes the public nature of Isabel's religious rituals (fig. 113). Even as the scene facilitates a personal connection when utilized by Isabel in her private devotional acts, the *retablo mayor* format points to wider audience. When the image would have been displayed for other viewers, Isabel's likeness communicated the depth of her personal piety. In bringing Christ to Castile, Juan de Flandes modernizes the Christological narrative, but he also sanctifies the present by suggesting the active presence of God in modern life. The images, therefore, become statements of belief outside of Isabel's personal devotional practice. As manifestations of Isabel's faith, the imagery of the *Retablo de Isabel* communicates and even performs in the absence of Isabel herself. While her participation is implied, it is not essential for the function of the object. Much like San Juan de los Reyes, the *Retablo de Isabel* asserts the depth of Isabel's faith to other viewers. Even as the individual scenes emphasize Isabel's personal devotion, the format of the altarpiece as a *retablo mayor* helps instill a collective identity. Isabel's decision to utilize the form of the *retablo mayor* suggests her own awareness of the public nature of her devotion. Unlike traditional *retablos mayors,* the panels for Isabel's altarpiece included marked personalization in theme and iconography. Although it is

certainly possible that the final object was intended to be visible to a larger audience, its ability to function as a devotional aid for Isabel would have continued as well. Therefore, it is unlikely that the object was intended to function in a completely public setting. Instead, the object implies that Isabel's personal prayers were in and of themselves statements of collectivity.

Conclusion: Life after Isabel

Even though historians have credited Juan de Flandes and Michael Sittow with the establishment of the Flemish pictorial style in Castile, the interest in Northern European visual culture on the Iberian peninsula extends through the Trastamara dynasty and beyond. However the interest in Franco-Flemish visual forms clearly accelerated during the second half of the fifteenth century, corresponding with Isabel's reign. As the Castilian economy prospered under the economic policies of Isabel and Fernando, wealthy subjects embraced the Spanish-Flemish fashion of the day in emulation of the queen and her courtiers.[461] Juan de Flandes' painting career in Castile, both his work as court painter and the collaboration with fellow artists in the creation of objects after the death of Isabel, provided him a position in the process of stylistic hybridization. On the queen's demise, Juan de Flandes became entwined in the artistic community of Old Castile.[462] Initially he remained at court and received payments due to him, but in the year he entered the public marketplace, where he competed with both natural and immigrant painters for commissions. The most prestigious were for the crafting of large-scale r*etablos mayors*. The *retablos mayors* projects produced by Juan de Flandes were comissioned by prominent

[461] Gómez Bárcena, *Retablos flamencos en España*, 6.
[462] Michael Sittow, in contrast, was already installed at the court of Margaret of Austria at the time of Isabel's death and never returned to Spain.

members of Isabel's court, whose interest in his paintings may have been influenced by their time spent with the queen. However once Juan de Flandes settled into the larger community he surely impressed local patrons, for they subsequently commissioned additional objects from the Flemish immigrant. These multi-artisan projects brought Juan de Flandes into contact and collaboration with painters and sculptors, including Felipe de Bigarny and Juan Tejerina.

Juan de Flandes began his post-Isabel career in Salamanca, arriving in the city by 1505, when he was commissioned to create paintings for the *retablo mayor* of the university chapel. This object no longer survives, with the exception of several small components including a section of the *banco* still in Salamanca (fig. 129), a panel of *St. Michael and St. Francis* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 130), and sculptures by Felipe Bigarny (fig. 131). Juan de Flandes remained in Salamanca until 1508 or 1509, during which time he produced the funerary *retablo* of a leading member of the university community Francisco Rodriguez de San Isidro (fig. 17). He was also approached by the University of Salamanca to produce a *retablo* for the adjacent hospital, although a final contract was never agreed upon. After the completion of the Salamanca projects, Juan became involved in the *retablo mayor* reconstruction underway at

the cathedral of Palencia under the guidance of bishop Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca (fig. 132). The painter remained in Palencia until his death in 1519. Once again, Juan de Flandes found himself working alongside the sculptor Felipe Bigarny in the service of a patron closely tied to the former monarch. While living in Palencia, Juan received an additional commission for a *retablo mayor* for the parish church of San Lazaro. Although the paucity documentary evidence means that little is known about this project, the survival of eight individual panels split between the National Gallery of Art in Washington and the Prado in Madrid suggest the scope, scale, and liturgical force of the original installation.[463]

The projects created by Juan de Flandes between 1505 and 1519 reveal the extent to which Isabel's use of northern European aesthetics trickled down through the Castilian visual language. Noble patrons exemplified by bishop Fonseca actively modeled their own patronage projects upon the precedent of the deceased queen's commissions, utilizing the Franco-Flemish visual style to establish personal magnificence. In addition, the decision to invoke Isabel's aesthetics by supporting of her chosen artist implies a close association between the patron and the almost mythic figure of queen Isabel. His success was

[463] J. O. Hand, *National Gallery of Art: Master Paintings from the Collection* (Washington D. C.: National Gallery of Art in association with Harry N. Abrams, 2004), 59.

certainly also due to recognition of his skill as a craftsman. However the exorbitant amount paid to Juan de Flandes during this period, when compared to other highly skilled painters and sculptors, reveals that there must have been perceived value beyond artistic skill. Even as the choice to employ Juan de Flandes functioned as an articulation of support for the monarchy, distinguishing the Flemish immigrant court painter from local artists, the highly public and collaborative nature of the *retablos mayors* integrated Juan de Flandes into the Castilian painting school. He intermingled with Castilian artists and actively participated in the creation of the hybrid Hispano-Flemish style. Just as Isabel's manipulation of northern European visual language oscillated between emulation, reconfiguration, and manipulation so as to cultivate a specifically Castilian style, so to Hispano-Flemish painting reinterpreted particular aspects of northern European aesthetics for the cultural and liturgical needs of Castile. Visual effects, figures, and compositions imitating works produced in the Low Countries were manipulated to reflect Iberian iconographies even as individual panels were inserted into the specifically Castilian *retablo* format.

Retablos Mayors and Relationships with Sculptors

Retablos mayors epitomized competition between towns and cities in late fifteenth-century Castile. The most prestigious altarpieces in late fifteenth-century Castile were composed of gilt and polychrome wood sculpture often created by northern European artists.[464] Much like the painted *retablo mayor* tradition, the sculpted altarpieces present a plethora of narrative scenes from the life of Christ arranged in rows and columns. Iberian *retablos* developed consistency with regards to medium by the fifteenth century. Though they could be composed of an amalgamation of either sculpted elements or painted panels, mixtures of the twoe were uncommon. This is in contrast to the northern European tradition of placing painted wings on a central sculpted component. This is not to say that moments of cooperation between painting and scuptre in Iberia did not exist. A single sculpted cult image was often placed in the center of a primarily paitned *retablo,* and the polychroming of scuptures was regulated by the painters guilds. [465]

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[464] The painted *retablo mayor* tradition is discussed in chapter 5. For a discussion of sixteenth-century sculpted retables in Castile, see A. Durán y Sanpere and J. Ainaud de Lasarte, *Escultura gótica* (Madrid: Editorial Plus-Ultra, 1956), 374-389. The predominance of sculpted wood, as opposed to stone, in the sculpted *retablo* tradition might account for the preference of Northern artists who were better trained in this medium. This position is advocated by Kroesen, *Staging the Liturgy*, 114.

[465] Berg Sobré, *Behind the Altar Table*, 14.

Sclupted *retablos mayors* were the most coveted liturgical furnishing. One of the earliest examples of the sculpted wall retable is the *retablo mayor* of Seville (fig. 133). Begun in 1482, the project was commissioned by the cathedral chapter from the Mechlin sculptor Pieter Doncaert and completed by Jorge Fernández Alemán.[466] The wall retable separates the celebration of the mass from visitors to the tomb of Castilian king Fernando III, assisting in the division of physical space to reflect the multitude of purposes the church served. The liturgical and devotional function of the altarpiece is balanced by the incorporation of both a tabernacle and a thirteenth-century statue of the Virgin into the structure. As Seville was one of the most important ecclesiastical sites in Castile, the *retablo mayor* of Seville influenced subsequent commissions including the *retablo mayor* of Toledo cathedral (fig. 100). Commissioned by Archbishop Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros only sixteen years after the installation of the *retablo mayor* of Seville, the Toledo altarpiece translated the new form of the sculpted *retablo mayor* into the heart of Old Castile as part of a larger program of renovation and expansion.[467] Although he was often at court,

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[466] H. Sancho Corbacho et al., *Documentos para la historia del arte en Andalucía*, 9 vols. (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 1927), 1: 9-13; M. Ferrand, *El retablo mayor de la catedral de Sevilla: Estudios e investigaciones realizados con motivo de su restauración* (Seville: Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Sevilla, 1981); F. G. Delgado, *Sevilla Cathedral* (Barcelona: Escudo de Oro, 1997), 28; Kroesen, *Staging the Liturgy*, 115-117.

[467] For information on the Toledo *retablo mayor,* see Á. Fernández Collado, *La cathedral de Toledo en el siglo XVI: Vida, arte y personas* (Toledo: Diputación Provincial de Toledo, 1999), 220-228; D.

Archbishop Cisneros took an active hand in the project and consulted with the monarchy reguarding the design. The commission went to Rodrigo Alemán and the French sculptor Peti Juan.[468] The importance of Toledo in the establishment of a Castilian identity led many rival churchmen to commission large sculpted wall *retablos*.[469] These projects were immediately understood as the most luxurious and prestigious of liturgical furnishings. While many painted Castilian *retablos* incorporated sculptural elements by including complex framing or occasionally an iconic sculpted figure, sculpted altarpieces produced in fifteenth and sixteenth-century Spain did not traditionally include panel painting for the depiction of content. Instead, painters were involved in the gilding and polychroming of the sculpted elements. Juan de Flandes' involvement in two separate mixed-media projects therefore stands apart from the *retablo mayor* tradition and deserves investigation.

Heim, *Rodrigo Aléman und die Toledaner Skulpter um 1500: Studien zum künstlerischen Dialog in Europa* (Kiel: Ludwig, 2006), 158-211; Kroesen, *Staging the Liturgy*, 117-120. On the rivalry between Seville and Toledo as head of the Castilian church, of which the *retablo mayor* projects were just one part, see ibid., 371.

[468] F. Pérez Sedano, *Notas del archivo de la catedral de Toledo: Redactadas sistemáticamente, en el siglo XVIII* (Madrid: Imp. de Fortanet, 1914), 21. Rodrigo Alemán and Peti Juan oversaw a team of sculptors, the names of many of which indicate French and Netherlandish origins including the Burgundian sculptor Felipe Bigarny.

[469] An exception to this is the *retablo mayor* at Miraflores by Gil de Siloé discussed in chapter 2.

The *Retablo Mayor* for the University of Salamanca

Shortly after the death of Isabel, the governing body of the University of Salamanca commissioned Juan de Flandes to produce painted panels for the *retablo mayor* of the university chapel.[470] This project was a collaborative effort among several artists, who continually re-envisioned the final object in regards to shifting patron desires. Sometime before 1503 the Burgundian sculptor Felipe Bigarny was approached by a representative of the university to create fifteen sculptures, including a crucifixion scene, Catherine with the Wheel, and St. Jerome with the Lion (fig. 131) for insertion into an already initiated altarpiece project.[471] Bigarny was delayed from beginning the carving as he was contracted by Cardinal Cisneros to assist in the refurbishment of the cathedral of Toledo.[472] In the interim, university leaders charged Master Andrés Carmona and Father Pedro de León with investigating the cost and possibility

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[470] Although the object was dismantled before documentation or even published descriptions could be produced, much can be learned from the plethora of entries in the *Libros de Claustros* held in the Archive of the Universidad de Salamanca. Archivo Universitario de Salamanca, Libro de claustros, núm 4 and 5. These documents are published in Moreno, "La capilla de la Universidad de Salamanca."

[471] The true beginnings of the *retablo mayor* are unknown as a gap in the university archives stretches from 1481 to 1503. Gómez Moreno has suggested that the original *retablo* may have been sculpted by French artist Anton de Lorena. Ibid., 323. For an analysis of the surviving sculptural elements, see I. R. de la Hoz, *El escultor Felipe Bigarny* (Madrid: Junta de Castilla y León, 2001), 72-75.

[472] The university leaders eventually threatened Bigarny with litigation over breach of contract in order to finally bring the sculptor to Salamanca in 1504. Once work began, Bigarny worked very hard to produce the sculptures in a timely manner, causing an acceleration of the payment schedule. de la Hoz, *El escultor Felipe Bigarny*, 75. For an assessment of Bigarny's time under Cardinal Cisneros, see ibid., 54-56, 67-71.

of acquiring paintings for the altarpiece.[473] Although it is not clear how the altarpiece would have incorporated the painted elements alongside the sculptures nor when the decision was made to include both media, the use of the term "puertas" in the documentation suggests that the paintings may have been intended as wings to a central sculptural component in a structure similar to that of many northern European altarpieces.[474] The university representatives first approached the Northern European immigrant Juan de Borgoña who was working alongside Bigarny in Toledo. However, Juan de Borgoña stated that his commitments to Cardinal Cisernos prevented his involvement in the project. On September 1, 1505, the Vicerector Francisco Enriquez and Drs. Diego Rodriguez de San Isidro and Juan de Castro signed a contract with Juan de Flandes for 85,000 *maravedíes* as payment for eight narrative scenes from the life of the University patron saint Jerome in addition

[473] The shift toward an interest in painted elements may have been financial. Not only had the university made payments to Bigarny, but they also had taken under contract the painter Juan de Ypres for the gilding and polychroming of the sculptures. As the objects were not ready upon Juan de Ypres' arrival, the University instead directed the painter to oversee the architectural expansion of the chapel including the painting of the ceiling. The amount of available money designated for the sculptural elements may have hindered the ability of the university leaders from bringing in in a second sculptor. However, the documentary evidence does not specifically articulate why the university decided to move toward incorporation of paintings. Archivo Universitario de Salamanca, Libro de claustros, núm 4, fol. 150r-151r. Published in Moreno, "La capilla de la Universidad de Salamanca," 325; Vandevivère, *Juan de Flandes*, 79-80; Silva Maroto, *Juan de Flandes*, 476-477.

[474] Silva Maroto, *Juan de Flandes*, 293. On Flemish sculpted altarpieces, see L. Jacobs, *Early Netherlandish carved altarpieces, 1380-1550 : medieval tastes and mass marketing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

to six painted standing figures (fig. 130).[475] The university leaders must have been satisfied with the progress of the project as two years later they commissioned a *banco* from Juan for an additional 15,000 *maravedíes* (fig. 129).[476] Although the *banco* was completed in three months, Juan de Flandes continued to work on the initially contracted images until July of 1508. Because of the amount of time and materials invested in the project, the painter petitioned the altarpiece commission for an increase to his final payment.[477] The commission debated the merits of the work and after much deliberation decided to award an additional 15,000 *maravedíes*.[478]

Although only two components of the painted portion of the *retablo mayor* survive, they reveal a sophisticated awareness of the relationship between the paintings and sculptures in the finished product. The subtly modulated *grisaille* busts of St. Mary Magdalene and St. Apollonia in the *banco* fragment are set into shallow niches before brightly colored red and blue backgrounds. The *grisaille* images overtly mimic the qualities of stone

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[475] Archivo Universitario de Salamanca, Libro de claustros, núm 4, fol. 150r-151r. Published in Moreno, "La capilla de la Universidad de Salamanca," 325; Vandevivère, *Juan de Flandes*, 79-80; Silva Maroto, *Juan de Flandes*, 476-477.
[476] Archivo Universitario de Salamanca, Libro de claustros, núm 4, fol. 265v and 267r. Published in Vandevivère, *Juan de Flandes*, 80-81; Silva Maroto, *Juan de Flandes*, 296, 479.
[477] Silva Maroto, *Juan de Flandes*, 296. Archivo Universitario de Salamanca, Libro de claustros, núm 5, fols. 995-99v. Published in Moreno, "La capilla de la Universidad de Salamanca," 326; Vandevivère, *Juan de Flandes*, 81; Silva Maroto, *Juan de Flandes*, 480.
[478] Silva Maroto, *Juan de Flandes*, 297.

sculpture. While the use of *grisaille* in Castilian *retablos* is extremely common for the framing elements, the monochromatic *banco* is unique in the corpus of surviving Castilian exempla. Northern European painters also used this technique on the exterior of triptychs, such as the *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb* altarpiece by Jan van Eyck (fig. 134) where the sculptures of St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist stand on plinths emphasizing their simulated materiality. Rogier van der Weyden also utilized this painting technique in the *Miraflores Altarpiece* in order to simulate the architectural decoration of church portals (fig. 13). In much the same, way monochromatic images on framing elements such as the *guardapolvos* in the Iberian tradition simulate stonework through which the alternative reality of the painted world is viewed. The relationship between *grisaille* painting and sculpture on the *banco* of the partially sculpted University of Salamanca *retablo mayor* appropriates this effect for a new context. The physicality of the female saints both visually complements and subtly challenges the sculptural components. In much the same way, the panel of *St. Michael and St. Francis* (fig. 130) places the figures in shallow golden niches likely in imitation of the display of the Bigarny's polychrome sculptures (fig. 131).

The R*etablo Mayor* for the Cathedral of Palencia

Juan de Flandes' experience working with Bigarny at Salamanca may have brought him to the attention of Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca, Bishop of Palencia. When Fonseca was named bishop in 1509 the cathedral was in a state of expansion and refurbishment initiated by the former bishop Diego de Deza. For the Capilla del Sagrario, Diego de Deza had commissioned a large sculpted altarpiece from Pedro de Guadalupe in the exact dimensions and shape of the end wall of the chapel at a cost of 530,000 *maravedíes*.[479] The altarpiece was to be designed "al modo y manera de lo antiguo romano," that is in the new Italian Renaissance visual language and based on Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza's donation to the Colegio de Santa Cruz in Valladolid.[480] Instead of the polychrome scenes placed in gothic tracery that were popular on sculpted altarpieces in the fifteenth-century, the imagery of the altarpiece donated by Mendoza displays flat gilt standing figures in a matrix of grotesques, vegetal decorations, and shell-shaped niches separated by pilasters. The framework of the *retablo* for the Capilla del Sagrario at Palencia as well as sculptures by Alejo de Vahía of St. John and Mary Magdalene were completed but not installed by 1506 when Diego de Deza was raised to the position of archbishop of Seville.

[479] C. V. Limentani and M. Pietogiovanna, *Great Altarpieces: Gothic and Renaissance* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1999), 381.
[480] Vandevivère, *La cathédrale de Palencia*, 66; Vandevivère, *Juan de Flandes*, 82.

Perhaps in response this change in status, Deza donated the image of St. John to a nearby convent and commissioned a restructuring of the decorative program from Felipe Bigarny (figs. 135-36).[481] As suggested by the drawing produced during the contractual negotiations, Bigarny envisioned an organized repetition of standing saints, prophets, Old Testament kings, apostles, and church fathers in niches divided by Italianate pilasters clustered around a central large assemblage of the Assumption of the Virgin.

When Bishop Fonseca arrived in Palencia in 1509 Bigarny had recently completed the components for the sculpted altarpiece. However, Fonseca decided not to install the completed altarpiece but to reconfigure the object as a *retablo mayor* intended for the high altar in the newly renovated choir. Fonseca commissioned additional components, including new coats of arms that usurp his predecessor's role, making the project a personal statement of power and prestige. Best known as overseer of the early colonies in New Spain and patron of Fernando Magellan, Fonseca was a prominent member of the Castilian court in the early sixteenth century.[482] He came from an illustrious family, which held the Senoría of Coca and Alaejos. His eldest brother Don Antonio was

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[481] J. M. Parrado del Olma, "Pedro de Guadalupe (?-1530) y la evolución del retablo catellano en el primer cuarto del siglo XVI," in *Retablos esculpidos en Aragón: Del gótico al barroco*, ed. M. C. Lacarra Ducay, (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2002), 65-105.
[482] J. F. O'Hara, "Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca: First President of the Indies (1493-1523)," *The Catholic Historical Review* 3 (1917): 133.

named ambassador to the Holy See before becoming the comptroller general of Castile.[483] As a young man Fonseca came to the attention of Queen Isabel and was placed under the tutelage of Hernando de Talavera.[484] Fonseca studied at the University of Salamanca under the preeminent Spanish humanist Antonio de Nebrija. In 1493 Fonseca was ordained as chaplain to the queen and canon of the Collegiate church of Alfaro, Tarragona. Only five weeks later, he was named archdeacon at the cathedral of Seville.[485] Fonseca seems to have been immediately favored, as he was charged with outfitting Columbus for his second voyage to the "Indies" in the weeks after his ordination. Fonseca continued to rise, being named bishop of Badajoz in 1494 and bishop of Cordoba in 1499. The bishop did not remain in Anadalusia, but departed that year for Flanders. While serving as Isabel's ambassador to the court of Philip the Handsome and Princess Juana, Fonseca brokered the marriage between Margaret of Austria and the duke of Savoy. Fonseca returned to Castile in 1505, where he ascended to the post of the bishop of Palencia and administrator of the Indies.

Bishop Fonseca's decision to relocate the Capilla de Sagrario *retablo* to the high altar of the choir as a *retablo mayor* allowed the bishop to participate in

[483] Ibid., 132; Bernáldez, *Historia de los Reyes Católicos*, 347.
[484] O'Hara, "Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca," 132.
[485] Ibid., 133.

the prime vehicle by which eclesiastics established their status and prestige.[486] The relocation of a pre-existing sculpted altarpiece to the choir of the cathedral was an ingenious and cost-effective way to participate in the new trend.[487] In order to augment the overall scale of the project, Fonseca commissioned not more sculptures but instead eleven panels from Juan de Flandes.[488] Though the motivations for this decision were certainly complex, the amount of money paid to Juan de Flandes in addition to the long production time of approximately ten years suggests that the monetary and temporal parameters were not a primary concern for Fonseca. The commission dated December 19, 1509, specified eight vertically oriented panels from the life of Christ as well as three larger Passion scenes. Juan painted two additional scenes while at Palencia cathedral, a *Descent from the Cross* and a *Pietà*.[489] Before he completed the panels in 1519, a third bishop, Juan de Valasco, commissioned a large crowning assemblage including a Calvary scene from the sculptors Pedro

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[486] G. Llompart, *La pintura medieval mallorquina*, 4 vols. (Palma de Mallorca: Luis Ripoll, 1980), 1: 137.

[487] The traditional sculpted wall *retablo* had recently appeared in the region with the *retablo mayor* of Sta. María de la Asunción in Dueñas, just south of Palencia. A. Caballero, *Dueñas: Iglesia de Santa Maria* (Palencia: Diputación provincial, 1992), 31-35.

[488] Palencia, Archivo de la Catedral, Armario I, legajo 4, document 1: Libro de las obras, f. 90r-90v. Published in Vandevivère, *La cathédrale de Palencia*, 66-67; Silva Maroto, *Juan de Flandes*, 292-293.

[489] These panels were never installed in the *retablo mayor* at the cathedral of Palencia. The images were removed from the cathedral and are today in a private collection in Madrid. Silva Maroto, *Juan de Flandes*, 404-413.

Manso and Juan de Balmaseda. The altarpiece was finally installed in 1527, ostensibly in a configuration closely related to Fonseca's intention. Later bishops continued to alter the *retablo mayor* however. In 1529, only two years after the initial installation, Juan's central panel depicting the Crucifixion was replaced with a sculpted image of St. Antolín and in 1559 the *banco* was replaced.[490] Between 1522 and 1525 Juan Tejerina created additional panels of the *Visitation* (fig. 137) and the *Adoration of the Magi* (fig. 138). These new panelms mimicked the style of the already installed paintings by Juan de Flandes. Through these alterations, the seven panels currently located in the *retablo mayor* have remained *in situ* since their original installation.[491]

The unusual decision to include paintings by Juan de Flandes reveals the lengths to which Fonseca would go to in attemption to associate himself visually with the queen. Like Isabel, Fonseca styled himself as a modern humanist. Fonseca latinized his name, and his brother was sent as ambassador to Rome. The decision to incorporate Flemish-styled paintings into a sculptural ensemble originally styled in the new Italian Renaissance manner emphasizes a particular cultural interest. With the exception of the *retablo mayor* of the

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[490] F. S. Plaça Santiagó and E. Garía de Wattenberg, *Memorias y esplendores: Las etades del hombre* (Valladolid: Fundación Las Edades del Hombre, 1999), 112. The *Crucifixion* has been in the Prado since 2005. P. Silva Maroto, *La Crucifixión de Juan de Flandes* (Museo Nacional del Prado, 2006).

[491] The panels were analyzed and restored by Vandevivere in 1963.

Salamanca university chapel, the insertion of painted panels into a sculpted altarpiece contrasted with the traditional interpretation of sculpture as the most prestigious art form, a frelction of its high material costs. Fonseca's decision to commission paintings from Juan de Flandes appears to have instead reflected his own personal affinity for Flemish painting. The eleven panels were contracted for the incredibly high price of 187,000 *maravedíes* to be paid over three years. In comparison, the *retablo* in the Capilla de Santiago of the cathedral of Toledo (fig. 139) was commissioned for 105,000 *maravedíes* with the cost of framing, gilding, and instillation to be defrayed by the painter.[492] Juan de Flandes' contract was only for the panels. In fact the contract between Fonseca and Juan de Flandes dictated higher payments than the 130,000 *maravedíes* paid for the sculptural elements from Bigarny. Fonseca then privileged the paintings over the sculptures by clustering the images on the lowest register, placing them closer to both the viewer and the mystical actions of the liturgy. Moreover, the choice of narrative scenes taken from the life of Christ alters the original organization of solitary standing figures and problematizes the ability of the altarpiece to function as a coherent theological unit. The decision to expand the scenes of *Christ on the Road to Calvary* and the

[492] Ballesteros Gallardo and Suárez Fernández, *Ysabel, la Reina Católica*, 184-186; Berg Sobré, *Behind the Altar Table*, 318-331.

Entombment to the width of two *calles* is also unprecedented. When the three panels were inserted into the overall program, they mimicked an open triptych, a painting format extremely common in Netherlandish painting (fig. 140). The interpretation of the lower register of paintings in the *retablo mayor* as a triptych would have been accessible to contemporary viewers as a result of the number of triptychs available for purchase on the open market.[493]

As a member of her court, Fonseca would have witnessed the queen's emulation of Burgundian culture in her acquisition of Flemish luxury objects and their display in courtly performances, such as the reception of the ambassadors of the Maximilian I in 1488.[494] In 1496, Fonseca himself was personally involved in escorting Princess Juana along with her one hundred thirty boat fleet carrying numerous trunks of dresses, shoes, furniture, tapestries, and jewels, on her journey north to the Low Countries for her wedding.[495] Fonseca then remained at the Flemish court for some time as an official ambassador of Castile and personal advisor to Juana. Thus, Fonseca must have been particularly aware of Isabel's ambitions to emulate the splendor of the famed Burgundian court with the goal of augmenting Spanish

[493] Domínguez Casas, *Arte y etiqueta de los Reyes Católico*, 123.
[494] The festivities were described in detail by Pulgar. Pulgar, *Cronica de los senores Reyes Catolicos*, 332-334.
[495] Rubin, *Isabella of Castile: The First Renaissance Queen*, 351.

prestige on the international stage. As court painter to Isabel, Juan de Flandes himself would have been instrumental in these efforts. In his patronage of Juan, therefore, Fonseca not only modeled himself on the personal tastes of the queen but also publicaly proclaimed his close and personal association with Isabel.

The congruency between the panels of the *retablo mayor* of the Palencian cathedral and Isabel's commissions is further supported by the inclusion of elements related to the expressed political interests of the queen. For example, the images created by Juan de Flandes correspond visually to the devotional literature popularized by the Isabelline court.[496] The inclusion of the Eucharist in the *Agony in the Garden* (fig. 141) invokes the forthcoming trauma to the physical body of Christ described in the writings of Ludolph of Saxony while the landscape, with the broken tree and jutting rocky outcrops, follows the description of the event by Sor Isabel de Villena.[497] The inclusion of singing angels peeking out from the clouds at the Nativity (fig. 142) appears in apocrypha including Pseudo-Bonaventure and Ludolph of Saxony.[498] Like

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[496] Isabel's relationship to Northern European devotional literature popularized during the *devotion moderna* is discussed in chapter 4.
[497] L. o. Saxony, *The Hours of the Passion. Taken from the "Life of Christ" by Ludolph the Saxon*, trans. H. J. Coleridge (London: n.p., 1887), LXIII; S. I. d. Villena, *Libre anomenat Vita Christi*, 3 vols., *Bibliotca Catalana* (Barcelona: R. Miquel y Planas, 1916), 2: 258.
[498] Pseudo-Bonaventure, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century, Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, MS. Ital. 115*, 31-41.

Isabel, Fonseca also exhibited particular devotion to the Virgin. In addition to the paintings by Juan de Flandes, the bishop also commissioned an elaborate sculpted *Assumption of the Virgin* intended for the central *calle* (fig. 132). Fonseca also promoted the cult of the *Virgin de la Antigua* of Seville with an ex-votive image in Badajoz (fig. 143).[499]

The *Virgin de la Antigua* was closely associated with the *reconquista* and the legitimacy of the Castilian dominance in the southern kingdom of Granada. The establishment of the united Spanish kingdoms as unified in a single Christian faith after the conquest of Granada is also reflected in the Passion images created by Juan de Flandes for the r*etablo mayor* of Palencia cathedral.[500] The Moorish knight in the *Crucifixion* dominates the composition with his large red banner emblazoned with the Muslim crescent (fig. 144). The Moorish ethnicity is further indicated by the appearance of turbaned dark-skinned figures prominently holding *adargas* shields. The background architecture is even reminiscent of the palace of the Alhambra at Granada, the primary residence of the Catholic kings after 1492, further correlating the biblical narrative to recent events. The inclusion of these details in the *retablo mayor* of Palencia in the decades after the conquest conflates the Christian victory over

[499] Pereda, *Las imágenes de la discordia*, 184.
[500] The importance of the conquest of Granada for Isabel's self-fashioning is discussed in chapter 5.

the infidels with the Castilian military victory over Al-Andalus, a personal victory of Isabel as both secular queen and defender of the faith. As patron of this composition Fonseca inserts himself into this matrix of connotations, asserting his own roles as loyal subject, royal diplomat, and ecclesiastical leader.

The *retablo mayor* was not Fonseca's sole patronage project in Palencia. The r*etablo mayor* was instead part of a broader visual program including new stone choir walls, built between 1506 and 1514, hung with large Flemish tapestries on the interior and faced with sculpted stone on the exterior (fig. 145). The division of cathedral space into two enclosed choirs was a feature particular to fifteenth-century Castile. Alhough the separation of the canon's choir from the choir-proper ment that the high altar was still visible to the laity, the west most face of the dividing wall, the *trascoro,* became a primary location for lay devotion.[501] This space was often decorated and organized similarly to contemporary *retablo*s, embellished with religious scenes, figures of saints, and personal emblems (fig. 146). Thus the *trascoro* provided yet another location for a patron's self-fashioning. The *trascoro* built by Fonseca in Palencia organizes narrative scenes, standing saints, and heraldry between engaged colonette

[501] For a discussion of the *trascoro* in Iberia, see J. Rivas Carmona, *Los trascoros de las catedrales españolas: Estudio de una tipología arquitectónica* (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1994).

bundles mimicking the organizational structure of the r*etablo mayor* (fig. 147).[502] Prominently placed against this monochromatic background is a vibrantly painted triptych attributed to Jan Joest of Kalcar purchased by Fonseca while on a diplomatic mission to the Low Countries and donated to the cathedral in 1505 (fig. 79).[503] The central scene depicts the Virgin of Compassion with Fonseca himself kneeling in adoration. The wings are decorated with elaborate gold text inscribed upon a simple black background, including a description of the acquisition of the painting during a diplomatic mission in the service of the crown.[504] The display of Netherlandish paintings, in particular Flemish triptychs, became a status symbol for wealthy Castilians professing their aesthetic and religious assimilation of courtly tastes.[505] Fonseca's encouragement of lay devotion at this site, specifically Marian devotion in prayers led by priests on Saturday mornings and the *Salve Regina* liturgy on Saturday afternoons, encouraged the local population to envision their own relationship with the divine in the visual language perpetuated by Isabel and Fonseca.[506] In addition to the text on the triptych, Fonseca further invokes the

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[502] The choir walls built by Fonseca included four additional altars to the north and south. García, "El trascoro de la catedral de Palencia," 128-184.
[503] Sancho Campo, *La catedral de Palencia: Un lecho de catedrales*, 85.
[504] Ibid., 84; Kroesen, *Staging the Liturgy*, 96.
[505] Kroesen, *Staging the Liturgy*, 95.
[506] These services were instituted by Fonseca. Cabeza, *La vida en una catedral de antiguo régimen*, 42.

monarchy with the installation of the coat of arms of the Catholic kings which towers over the smaller shield of the bishop himself (fig. 146). The inclusion of the emblems specific to Isabel and Fernando, installed after the assumption of Philip and Juana to the throne, is a powerful gesture of loyalty and personal friendship between Fonseca and the Catholic kings. The proximity of the triptych of the *Seven Sorrows of the Virgin* and the *retablo mayor* panels by Juan de Flandes emphasize the similarities in style and format between the two works. Because of the high esteem in which Flemish art objects were held in Castilian society, the prevalent display of these paintings by Fonseca constructed a public persona of one who was not only aware of contemporary artistic trends, but wealthy enough and knowledgeable enough to acquire such superior examples. He had, furthermore, likely acquired this knowledge from the queen and and display of her specific objects in her collection that exemplified her aesthetic desires.

Assimilation, Apprentices, and Artistic Legacy

Involvement in the high profile commissions of the two *retablo mayor* projects inserted Juan de Flandes into the diverse community of artists living and working in Castile. The amount of labor involved in manufacturing high

altarpieces involving many different media, along with the broader patronage program of which the *retablo* was often a part, cultivated an artistic community engaged collaboratively in the decoration of liturgical space. The *retablo mayor* commissions not only provided Juan with the opportunity to work alongside other immigrant artists, such as Felipe Bigarny and Juan de Ypres but also with the local Castilian painters active in Salamanca and Palencia working in the Hispano-Flemish tradition. Although the local Castilian school had been highly influenced by the interest in Northern European art so desired by the fifteenth-century court, few artists traveled to the Low Countries to train directly under Flemish masters.[507] Instead, Castilian painters gained knowledge of Northern European aesthetics second-hand through access to objects and prints imported and distributed at the local fairs, or through collaboration with immigrant artists. Over the course of the fifteenth century Flemish aesthetics were hybridized with the iconographic, morphologic, and devotional needs of Castilian patrons resulting in Hispano-Flemish *retablos*.

Another point of convergence between the Flemish and Iberian traditions regards the desire for oil glazes. The deep association of linseed oil with the Netherlandish tradition is epitomized by Vasari's praise of Jan van

[507] The exceptions to this are the Aragonese painters Juan Dalmeau and Bartolomé Bermejo. See J. Berg Sobré, "Sobre Bartolomé Bermejo," in *La pintura gótica hispanoflamenca: Bartolomé Bermejo y su época*, ed. S. Alcolea i Blanch, (Barcelona: Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya 2003), 19-28.

Eyck as the inventor of oil painting. While historically false, Vasari's account reveals early modern attitudes toward this tecnique as the preview of northern painters.[508] Spanish painters such as Fernando Gallego attempted to imitate and replicate the bright colors and subtle modeling of the Northern European aesthetic without explicit knowledge, experience, or training in this technique.[509] And while Gallego did use oil binders in his paint formulas, modern technical analysis has demonstrated that he and other Castilian painters were unable to replicate the subtle glazes of the northern artists. Instead, he and fellow Castilian painters utilized a mixture of tempera and oil paints along with continued heavy use of gold leaf.[510] The desirability of the knowledge of true Netherlandish *modus operandi* is suggested by the Aragonese artist Bartolomé Bermejo, one of the few Spanish painters to be formally trained in Flemish practices. In 1474 the parish church of Santo Domingo de Silos in the city of Daroca commissioned a *retablo mayor* from Bermejo that was to be painted purely in oils, a stipulation specifically articulated in the contract. As oil paints themselves were already extremely common, Judith Berg Sobré has

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[508] S. Foister, S. Jones, and D. Cool, eds., *Investigating Jan van Eyck* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 97, 101.
[509] C. Barry, "The Making of the Ciudad Rodrigo Altarpiece," in *Fernando Gallego and his Workshop: The Altarpiece from Ciudad Rodrigo*, ed. A. W. Dotseth, B. C. Anderson, and M. A. Roglán, (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2008), 242.
[510] Ibid., 147-245.

argued that this reference indicates a specific desire for oil glazes.[511] A few years later while working on the polychrom for a sculpted retable in the Saragoza Cathedral, Bermejo demanded as a contractual stipulation a closed studio with a lock, so that his working methods could not be observed by other painters involved in the project.[512]

Juan de Flandes' reaction to these hybridized Hispano-Flemish objects is epitomized in the funerary *retablo* for the University of Salamanca law professor Francisco Rodriguez de San Isidro (fig. 17). Although the altarpiece has been located in the cathedral museum since 1953, the *retablo* was originally installed in a funerary niche in the cloister of the "old" Salamanca cathedral (fig. 148).[513] The lack of documentary evidence makes it unclear whether the work was ordered by Francisco Rodriguez de San Isidro himself or by his brother Diego Rodriguez de San Isidro, who was directly involved in the 1505 contract commissioning Juan de Flandes to produce panels for the university chapel *retablo mayor*. In either case, the *Retablo de San Miguel* takes the form of an arched triptych with a tripartite *banco* set in a recess above the sculpted

[511] Berg Sobré, "Sobre Bartolomé Bermejo," 21.
[512] Ibid., 23.
[513] The *Retablo de San Miguel* was restored at this time, and subjected to large amounts of overpaint due to the poor condition of the altarpiece. Vandevivere performed a second restoration in preparation an exhibition of Juan de Flandes' work in Bruges and Louvain. At this time the overpaint was removed. Vandevivère, *Juan de Flandes*, 83-85.

sepulcher and framed by stonework. The three primary scenes straddle the traditional division between narrative and iconic formats. The large figures of Sts. James, Michael, and Francis are similar in presentation to the images Juan produced for the university chapel *retablo* (fig. 130). However, in the *Retablo de San Miguel* these figures are performing actions related to their vita and are surrounded by additional narratives. In the center, St. Michael stands with his sword raised ready to vanquish the dragon under his feet while small demonic creatures flap across the cloudy sky. Michael's armor and shield glistens with the reflected landscape punctuated with a hilltop castle. In the left panel Saint James, the patron saint of Castile, sits upon an elaborately draped throne as *Santiago de Compostela* with his pilgrim's hat, traveler's cloak, and staff. As in the *Miraflores Triptych,* the architectural space opens onto a landscape. Through the open archway, St. James appears a second time in the guise of *Santiago Matamoros* (fig. 149). To the right of St. Michael, St. Francis kneels in the rocky landscape receiving the stigmata. The three panels are unified with a continuous landscape, further unified by the undulating cloud formation across the top of the panels. Moreover, the small flying demonic creatures also spill over into the space above St. Francis suggesting not only a unified space but also a single temporal moment (fig. 150). The *banco* (fig. 151) follows the

Castilian tradition of a post-crucifixion image sandwiched between bust-length images of saints. In the *Retablo de San Miguel,* the traditional Man of Sorrows has been replaced with a *pieta,* flanked here by the figures of St. Peter and St. Paul. As in the top panels, the three images are unified before a continuous landscape. The nails used in the crucifixion scattered upon the ground beneath the cross extend beyond the frame to the space behind the figure of Peter.

Although Juan de Flandes utilizes an organization consistent with traditional Spanish side altars, the individual scenes reflect the visual language of Northern Europe. The verdant landscapes rich in deep green foliage extending into blue-tones near the horizon line reflect the formulations of Joachim Patinir.[514] The multitude of textures and colors, from the highly reflective sheen of armor and jewels to the rough spun brown cloth, demonstrate the painter's dexterity in rendering different material textures. The elongated form of St. Michael with his soft visage, peacock-feathered wings, and shining armor evokes the variations on this figure by Jan van Eyck (fig. 152), Hans Memling (fig. 153), and Gerard David (fig. 154). The success of the composition is suggested by the survival of a copy of the central scene of St. Michael in the *Museo de Bellas Artes* in Salamanca (fig. 155).

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[514] L. Silver, *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes: The Rise of Pictorial Genres in the Antwerp Art Market* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 38.

Other images also evoke Flemish visual forms. The figure of St. Frances, kneeling almost in a position of prayer, invokes the quiet repose of Jan van Eyck's interpretation of this scene (fig. 156). The central *banco* image, in which Mary displays the body of Christ in a moment of copassion, is not unlike the image found in the central panel of the *Miraflores Altarpiece* (fig. 13). It also corresponds to the interpretations of this scene by Gerard David (fig. 157) and Hugo van der Goes (fig. 158). The scattering of the nails and crown of thorns along with the use of a rounded rock formation to frame the scene was also used by Juan de Flandes in the devotional panel in the Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza (fig. 10). And yet the *retablo* uses these Flemish elemnts to represent Spanish hagiography, specifically the image of *Santiago Matamoros* (fig. 149). According to legend, King Ramiro I of Asturias was granted a vision of St. James astride a white horse during the battle of Clavijo in 930. The saint was assisting the Christian army against the Muslim invasion of Iberia. Throughout the *reconquista,* the image of St. James fighting against the Spanish Moors was invoked as proof of divine sanction. Likewise St. George and St. Michael also became symbols of the fight against Islam. Images of Michael were extremely popular among the Hispano-Flemish painters of Castile and their patrons. Examples include the image of *San Miguel de Zafra* (fig. 159), and

the image of the saint by the Master of Belmonte (fig. 160) and Bermejo (fig. 161). The combination of the small image of *Santiago Matamoros* adjacent to St. Michael fighting the dragon in the *Retablo de San Miguel* suggests that the central scene too articulates a specifically Castilian position vis-à-vis the *reconquista* in addition to the traditional apocalyptic associations more common across Europe. The mixing of Northern European and Castilian elements extends to the tapestries in the *banco.* The continued popularity of gold-leaf backgrounds in religious painting in late fifteenth-century Spain is one of the major divergences between the Iberian aesthetic and that of rest of Europe, where naturalistic landscapes and interior settings were being used.[515] Juan de Flandes ingeniously brings together these two traditions with the hanging of gold thread tapestries, simulated with punched gold leaf, between the figures of the *banco* and the continuous landscape against which they are set.

In its original location, the *Retablo de San Miguel* would have been installed adjacent to the tomb Francesco's brother Diego. His tomb included an image created by one of the most esteemed Hispano-Flemish artists, Fernando Gallego. Gallego was a leading force in late fifteenth-century Castilian

[515] Pereda argues that the continued presence of the gold background is part of the larger "byzantinization" of the image in Castile. He argues that just as the images take on the formal qualities of icons, so too did they function in similar capacities. Pereda, *Las imágenes de la discordia*, 210-214.

painting, receiving many *retablo* commissions including the *retablo mayor* of Ciudad Rodrigo and the *Retablo de San Ildefonso* in the Cathedral of Zamora (fig. 162).[516] As a resident of the city of Salamanca since 1473, Gallego was well placed to participate in the artistic development and patronage projects of late fifteenth-century Castile. Salamanca was an important city with strong ties to the monarchy and court. The presence of the University of Salamanca provided potential access to a wealth of printed books and first hand accounts of northern European material culture including panel paintings and illuminated manuscripts.[517] Working in the Hispano-Flemish tradition, the compositions of Gallego mimic Dirk Bouts and Rogier van der Weyden, though the postures of individual figures and sharp color contrasts are more reminiscent of late Gothic

[516] The altarpieces of Sta. Maria of Trujilo, Extremadura, and San Lorenzo Toro remain *in situ*. Thirty-five panels from the *retablo mayor* from Zamora are today in the parish church of Arcenillas. See F. Ferrero, *Vicisitudes de el mayor retablo español del siglo XV: Las treinta y cinco tablas de Arcenillas* (Arcenillas del Vino, Spain: n.p., 1975). Several panels from the *retablo mayor* of Ciudad Rodrigo are today located in the University of Arizona Museum of Art. See Dotseth, Anderson, and Roglán, *Fernando Gallego and his workshop*; B. C. Anderson, "The Life of the Altarpiece," in *Fernando Gallego and His Workshop: The Altarpiece from Ciudad Rodrigo*, ed. A. W. Dotseth, B. C. Anderson, and M. A. Roglán, (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2008), 19-38.

[517] For example, images in the panels of the *retablo mayor* of Ciudad Rodrigo produced in collaboration with Maestro Bartolomé imitate conceptually and visually the *Nuremberg Chronicles* written by Hans Schedel in 1493. Barbara Anderson argues that the artists would have had access to the recently published incunabulum through the University of Salamanca library. The University could have acquired the text either through Koberger's distribution representative in Zaragoza or by Schedel's friend Hieronymus Münzer who visited the city in January of 1495. B. C. Anderson, "Maestro Bartolomé: the Artist in an Era of Humanism and Apocalypse," in *Fernando Gallegoand his Workshop: The Altarpiece from Ciudad Rodrigo*, ed. A. W. Dotseth, B. C. Anderson, and M. A. Roglán, (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2008), 93.

painting in Germany.[518] This was most likely an influence of the prints of Martin Schongauer.[519] Even as the images incorporate visually the aesthetics of Northern Europe, the size, scale, and structure of the *retablo* assemblage produced by Gallego is undeniably Spanish. Gallego's reputation was responsible for commissions for altarpieces across Castile, although the painter also created images for local Salamanca clients. In the 1480s Gallego painted a ceiling mural in the vault of the University library (fig. 163). The image depicts the astrological observations of the constellations, symbolic of the continuity and cyclical nature of time. The fresco embodies the scientific investigation and humanistic learning encouraged by the university of Salamanca. Gallego also produced a funerary *retablo* known as the *Triptych of the Virgin of the Rose* (fig. 164) for Diego Rodriguez de San Isidro who was also connected to the university of Salamanca. The side panels present large-scale figures of St. Andrew and St. Christopher in verdant green landscapes. The images encourage the viewer's direct confrontation with the figures by minimizating or even eliminating the narrative components. The iconic focus of the altarpiece is emphasized by the central image of Mary seated upon a throne before a

[518] Kroesen, *Staging the Liturgy*, 103.
[519] Ibid.

brocaded cloth of honor. The image participates in the conception of Mary as the elegant queen of heaven popular across both sides of the Pyrenees.

Juan de Flandes' *Retablo de San Miguel* and Gallego's *Triptych of the Virgin of the Rose* proclaim the individual and shared priorities of the patrons. The creation of funerary *retablos* was an important vehicle for upper middle class Castilians in constructing a permanent self-image.[520] In contrast to the r*etablo mayor,* which functioned in the communal celebration of the liturgy and thus presented such common devotional content as the Life of Christ, private altarpieces display personal preferances for nuanced devotion. For example, bishop Luís de Acuña's altarpiece in the Sta. Ana chapel of the cathedral of Burgos (fig. 26) celebrates the Immaculate Conception of Mary in the context of Christ's genealogy in the Tree of Jesse, but before the doctrine was incorporated into official Catholic dogma.[521] The iconography does not realte to the liturgy but instead is a showpiece of the bishop's power, prestige, and private dedication to the Immaculada.[522] Castilian churches allowed for the installation of funerary *retablos* to be placed both in pirvate chapels and directly on the walls of the church. Although not altarpieces in the strictest sense as there is no

[520] Ibid., 141.
[521] The altarpiece was sculpted by Gil de Silo before he began his work at Miraflores. J. Arza Luaces, *Gil Siloé: El Retablo de la Concepción en la Capilla del obispo Acuña* (Oviedo: Ehga, 2000).
[522] Kroesen, *Staging the Liturgy*, 373.

altar, these objects translated the visual language of the chapel altarpiece into a funerary setting. The relationship between the image and the patron is articulated visually by the proximity to the sculpted figure of the deceased just beneath. The insertion of Flemish and Hispano-Flemish visual forms into this setting, much like the display of the Flemish triptych and tapestries by Bishop Fonseca, created a personal statement of taste and prestige. For example, the merchants García de Mazuelo and Alonso de Lerma who made their fortunes importing Flemish luxury goods, are buried in the chapel of La Buena Mañana in the church of San Gil of Burgos. Their tomb is embellished with an altarpiece was imported directly from Antwerp (fig. 165).[523]

In addition, both the *Retablo San Miguel* by Juan de Flandes and the *Triptych of the Virgin of the Rose* by Gallego function as statements of the brothers' differentpersonal aesthetics. In the *Triptych of the Virgin* the prominent placement of the artist's signature across the tiled floor at Mary's feet indicates the value and esteem in which this specific artist was held. Diego asserted his own awareness of artistic trends and personal connection to an artist associated with projects at the university of Salamancaby deciding to patronize Gallego. Likewise the patronage of Juan de Flandes associates Francisco with the

[523] Gómez Bárcena, *Retablos flamencos en España*, 28; C. Dumortier, "Retables sculptés anversois dans la péninsule Ibérique," in *Antwerpse retables 15e-16e eeuw. 2: Essays*, ed. H. Nieuwdorp, (Antwerp: Museum voor Religieuze Kunst, 1993), 111.

broader university patronage campaign. And yet the clear articulation of Flemish visual forms, when compared with the contemporary figures of *St. Michael and St. Francis* created for the university suggests that Francisco wished to invoke a different identity, one well aware of international trends. The installation of the two images in close proximity openly invited the viewers to compare to two stylistic languages and construct two distinct personas for the brothers Diego and Francisco.

Juan de Flandes' response to the works produced by his Hispano-Flemish contemporaries including Gallego, as well as his own negotiations between his northern European training and the needs of his Castilian patrons, allowed him to participate in the hybridization of the various European artistic languages utilized in fifteenth and sixteenth-century Castile. The public display of his paintings would have provided examples of figure types and compositional devices for future Castilian painters to invoke and interpret. Moreover, as a master painter Juan de Flandes may even have begun to manage his own workshop with journeymen and apprentices.[524] The similarities

[524] Juan de Flandes'sss involvement in a workshop is difficult to assess. Silva Pilar Maroto suggests that the length of time he took to complete the university of Salamanca chapel *retablo,* along with infraredreflectographs, indicating that Juan de Flandes painted the panels on his own. She hypothesizes that he worked in true accordance with the contractual phrase that necessitated work by done "in the master's own hand." However, this language is extremely common in Castilian commission contracts and does not seem to coincide with common practices. As the large commissions were often completed in a relatively short timeframe of a

between the painting styles of Juan de Flandes and Juan Tejerina in the *retablo mayor* of Palencia Cathedral has led to the hypothesis the Tejerina apprenticed directly with Juan de Flandes.[525] The lack of documentary evidence prevents the establishment of a definitive working relationship between the two painters; the visual similarity among the panels does suggest however that Tejerina clearly modeled his images upon close analysis of Juan de Flandes' style either through close assessment of the Palencia panels or observation of the painter himself. Other painters active near the cathedral of Palencia were also influenced by the Flemish immigrant, including the Master of Benito and the Master of Becerril. Thus Juan de Flandes should not be understood as an isolated court artist working independently of broader Castilian tastes and trends, nor should he be solely credited with the establishment of the Hispano-Flemish visual style. Instead, Juan de Flandes is one of the many avenues through which painters in Spain were exposed to Northern European aesthetics, and as a painter working for the Castilian market he responded to the specifically Iberian needs often diverging from the images produced by his

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year or less, sometimes with as many as fifty panels, it is extremely unlikely that such projects were created by a single painter. Instead, painting in Spain was a collaborative effort between the master painter and an assortment of assistants and subcontractors. Berg Sobré, *Behind the Altar Table*, 46-48.

[525] Bermejo, *Juan de Flandes*, 22, 43; Vandevivère, *La cathédrale de Palencia*, 47, 61-62; Vandevivère, *Juan de Flandes*, 88; Silva Maroto, *Juan de Flandes*, 342-344.

fellow Flemings in the Low Countries. He is a link in the evolutionary chain of shifting visual trends forged during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Juan de Flandes provides a window through which to explore the reception of Flemish aesthetics in Isabelline Castile, the reinterpretation of these visual forms in an Iberian context, and the utilization of the hybridized forms as a function of identity construction.

Figures

Fig. 1 Juan de Flandes, *Retablo de San Juan Bautista,* c. 1496-1499, photo composite. Panels located in Cleveland Museum of Art, Nardoni muzej in Belgrade, Musée d'art et d'histoire in Geneva, Museum Mayer van den Bergh in Antwerp, and a Private Collection in Madrid. After Silva Maroto, *Juan de Flandes,* 145.

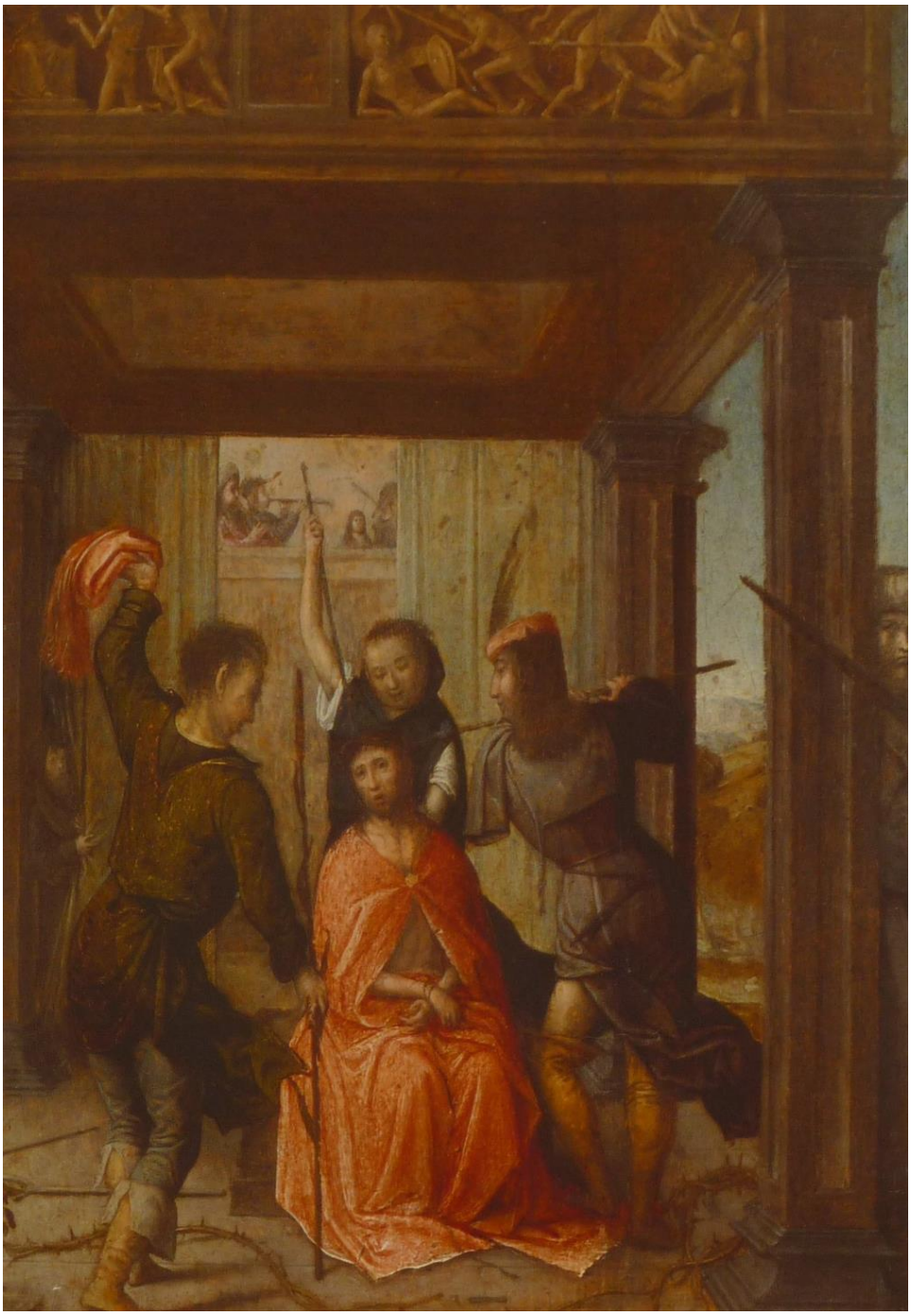

Fig. 2 Juan de Flandes, *Crowning of Thorns,* before 1504, Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit. After Silva Maroto, *Juan de Flandes,* 229.

Fig. 3. Juan de Flandes, *Christ in the House of Simon,* before 1504, Palacio Real, Madrid. After Pilar Maroto, *Juan de Flandes,* 190.

Fig. 4 Juan de Flandes, *Ecce Homo,* before 1504, Narodni Galerie, Prague. After Silva Maroto, *Juan de Flandes,* 83.

Fig. 5. Fig. 5. Master of Mary of Burgundy, *Ecce Homo* from the *Hours of Engelbert of Nassau,* c. 1480, Bodleian Library, Oxford, MSS. Douce 219-20 fol. 96r. After *A Book of Hours for Engelbert of Nassau,* 62

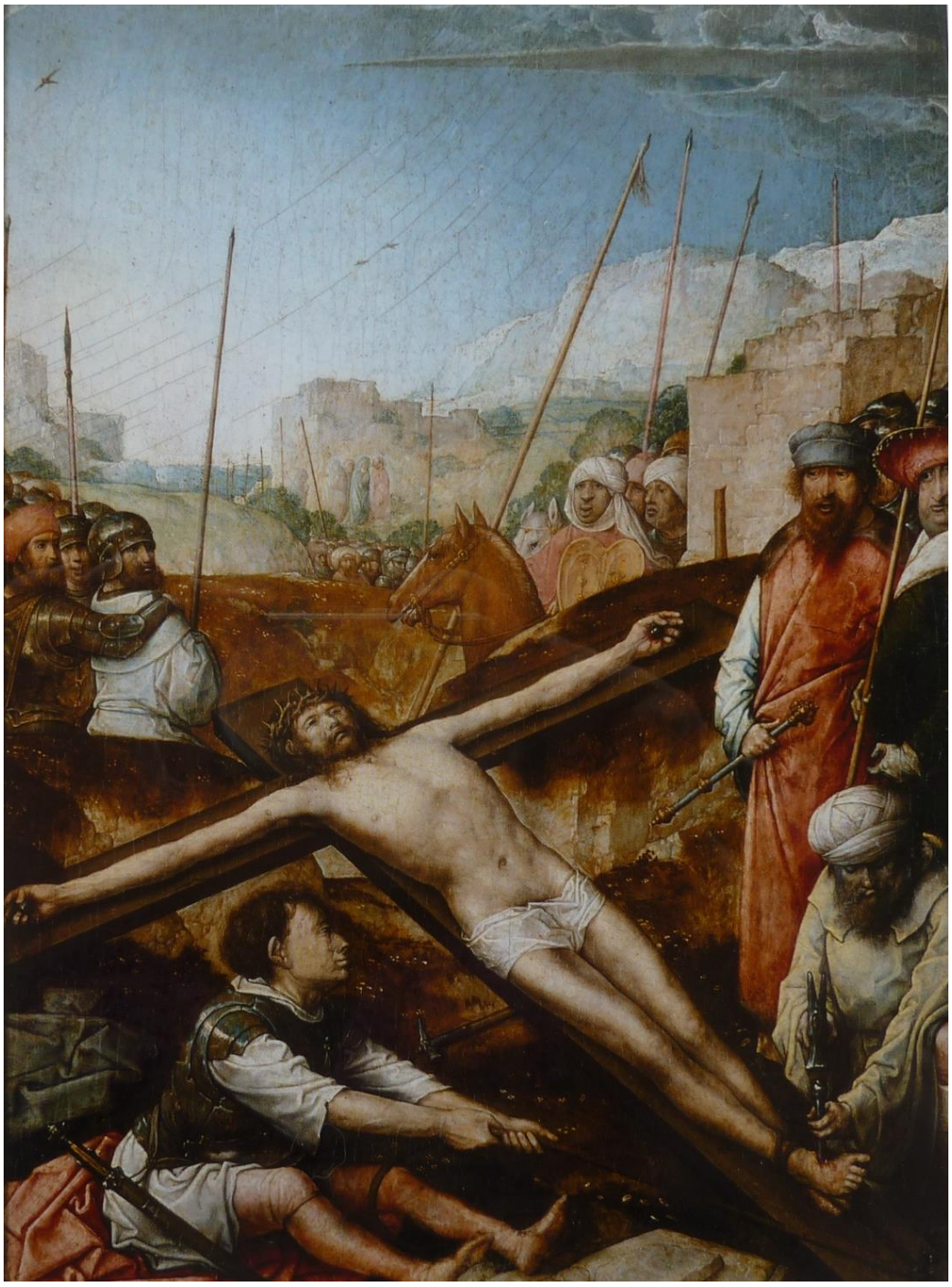

Fig. 6 Juan de Flandes, *Nailing of the Cross,* before 1504, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. After Silva Maroto, *Juan de Flandes,* 235.

Fig. 7 Master of Mary of Burgundy, *Nailing of the Cross* from the *Hours of Mary of Burgundy*, Österreichische Nationalbibliotek, Vienna, Ms. 1875 fol 43v. After Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 45.

Fig. 8 Juan de Flandres, *Portrait of a Princess,* before 1504, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid. After Silva Maroto, *Juan de Flandes*, 265.

Fig. 9 Juan de Flandes, *Man of Sorrows,* before 1504, Charterhouse of Miraflores, Burgos. After Silva Maroto, *Juan de Flandes,* 257.

Fig. 10 Juan de Flandes, *Lamentation,* before 1504, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid. After Silva Maroto, *Juan de Flandes,* 261.

Fig. 11 Juan de Flandes, *Virgin and Child,* c. 1500, Várez Fisa Collection, Madrid. After Silva Maroto, *Juan de Flandes,* 451.

Fig. 12 Juan de Flandes, *Portrait of Isabel,* before 1504, Palacio Real, Madrid. After Silva Maroto, *Juan de Flandes,* 272.

Fig. 13 Rogier van der Weyden, *Miraflores Altarpiece,* c. 1435-1437, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin. After Wikimedia Commons.

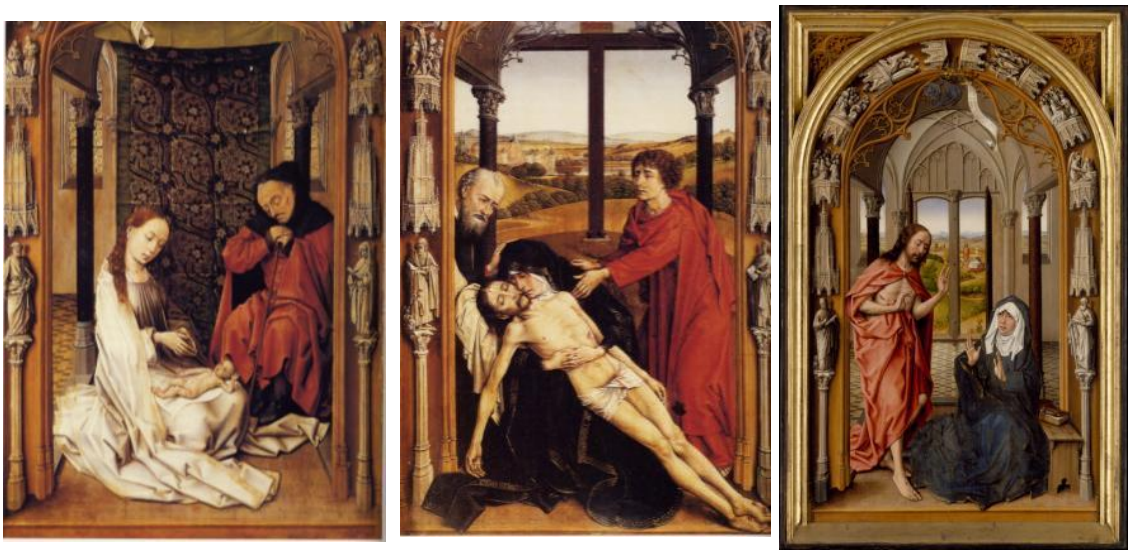

Fig. 14 Juan de Flandes, *Copy of the Miraflores Altarpiece,* before 1504, Capilla Real, Granada, and Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. After Pilar Moroto, *Juan de Flandes,* 140-141 and photo by author.

Fig. 15 *Music Making Angels,* c. 1500, Cathedral, Guadalupe, Spain. After Silva Maroto, *Juan de Flandes,* 40.

Fig. 16 *Adoration of the Magi,* c. 1500, Church of Santa María del Castillo, Cervera del Río Pisuerga, Palencia. After Silva Maroto, *Juan de Flandes,* 131.

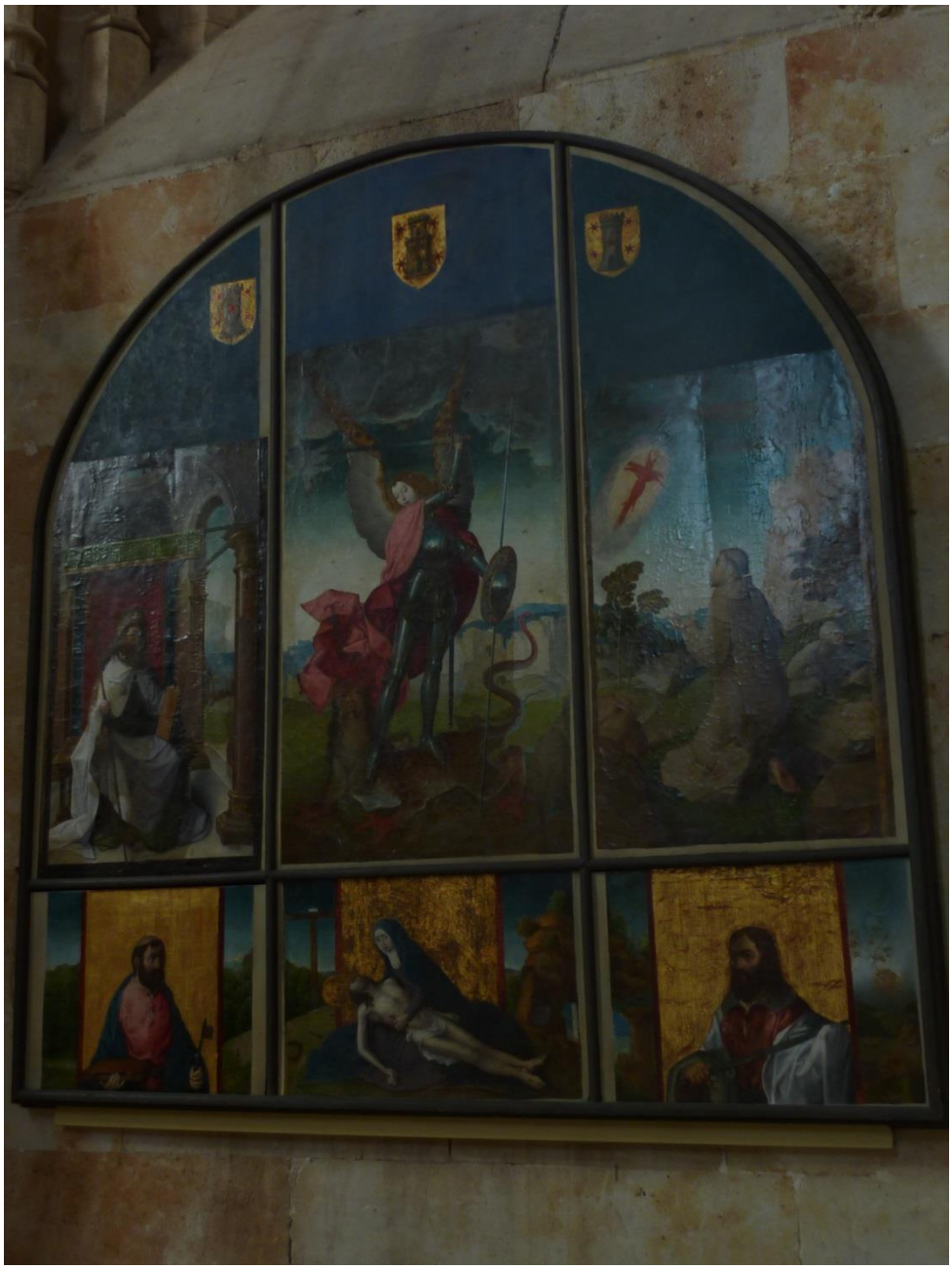

Fig. 17 Juan de Flandes, *Retablo de San Miguel,* 1508/1509, Cathedral Museum, Salamanca. Photo by author.

Fig. 18 Rogier van der Weyden, *Descent from the Cross* (detail), c. 1430-1435, Museo del Prado, Madrid. After Wikimedia Commons.

Fig. 19 Rogier van der Weyden, *Christ Appearing to his Mother* (detail) from the *Miraflores Altarpiece,* c. 1435-1437, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin. After Wikimedia Commons.

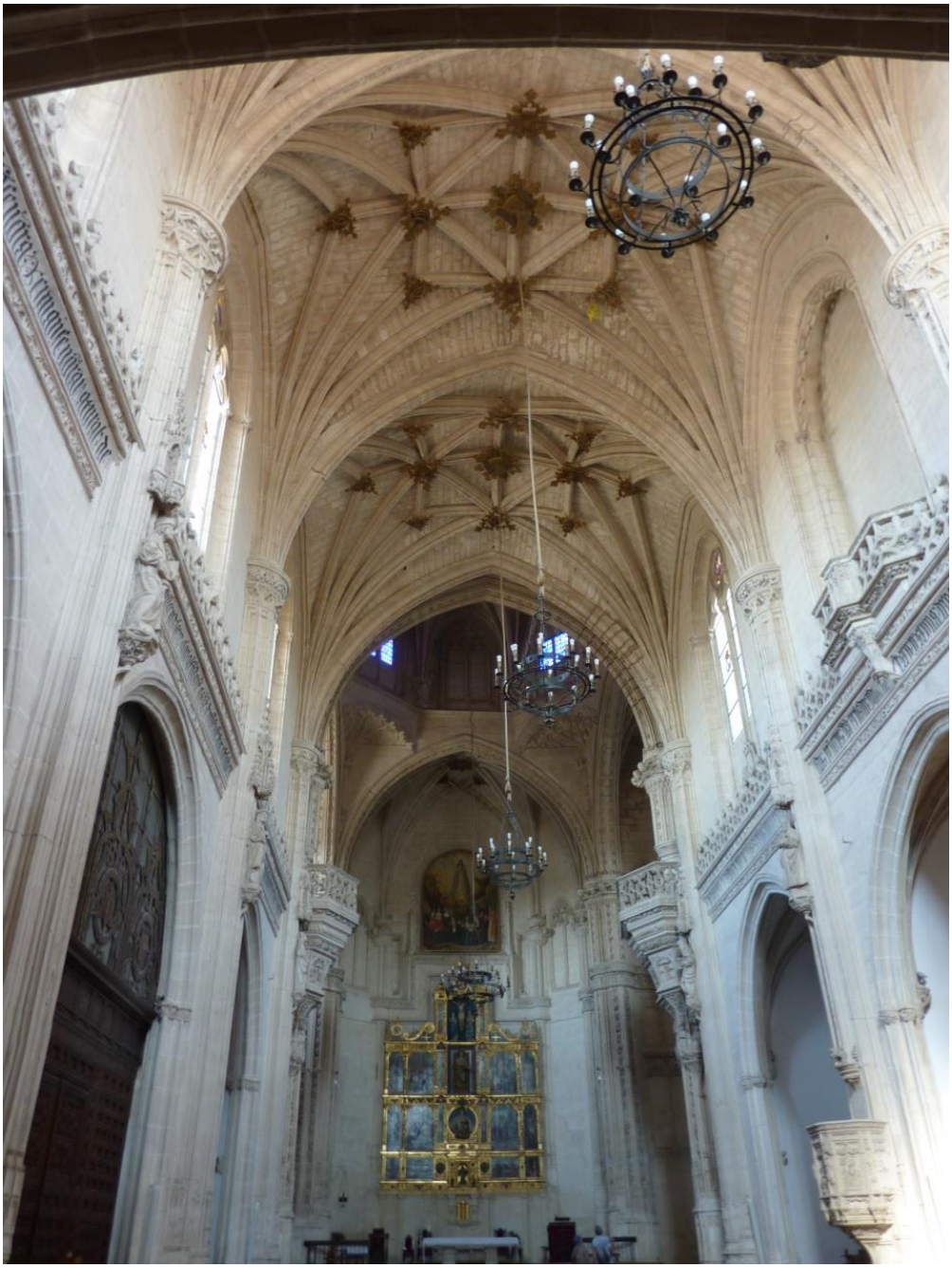

Fig. 20 Juan Guas, San Juan de los Reyes, begun in 1477, Toledo, Spain. Photo by author.

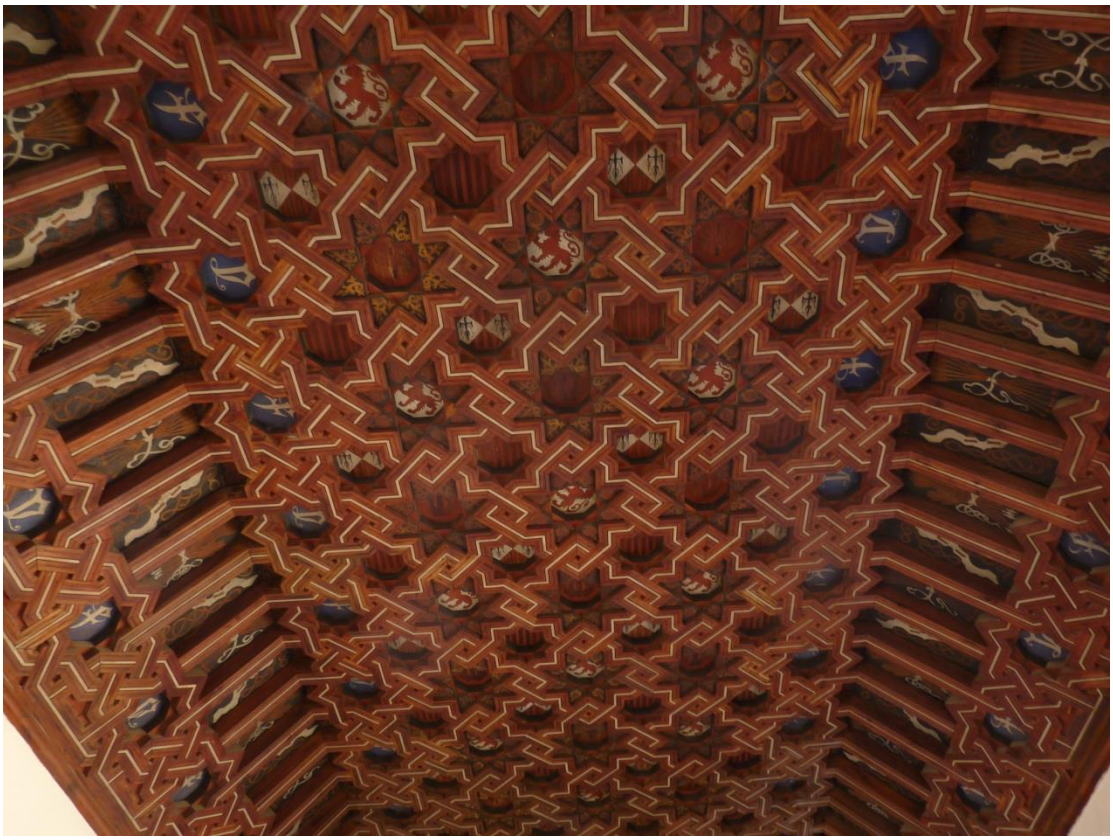

Fig. 21 Mudejar carved ceiling from San Juan de los Reyes, begun in 1477, Toledo, Spain. Photo by author.

Fig. 22 Gil de Siloé, *Tomb of Juan II and Isabel of Portugal,* 1489-1493, Charterhouse of Miraflores, Burgos. Photo by author.

Fig. 23 Gil de Siloé, *Tomb of Prince Alfonso,* 1489-1492, Charterhouse of Miraflores, Burgos. Photo by author.

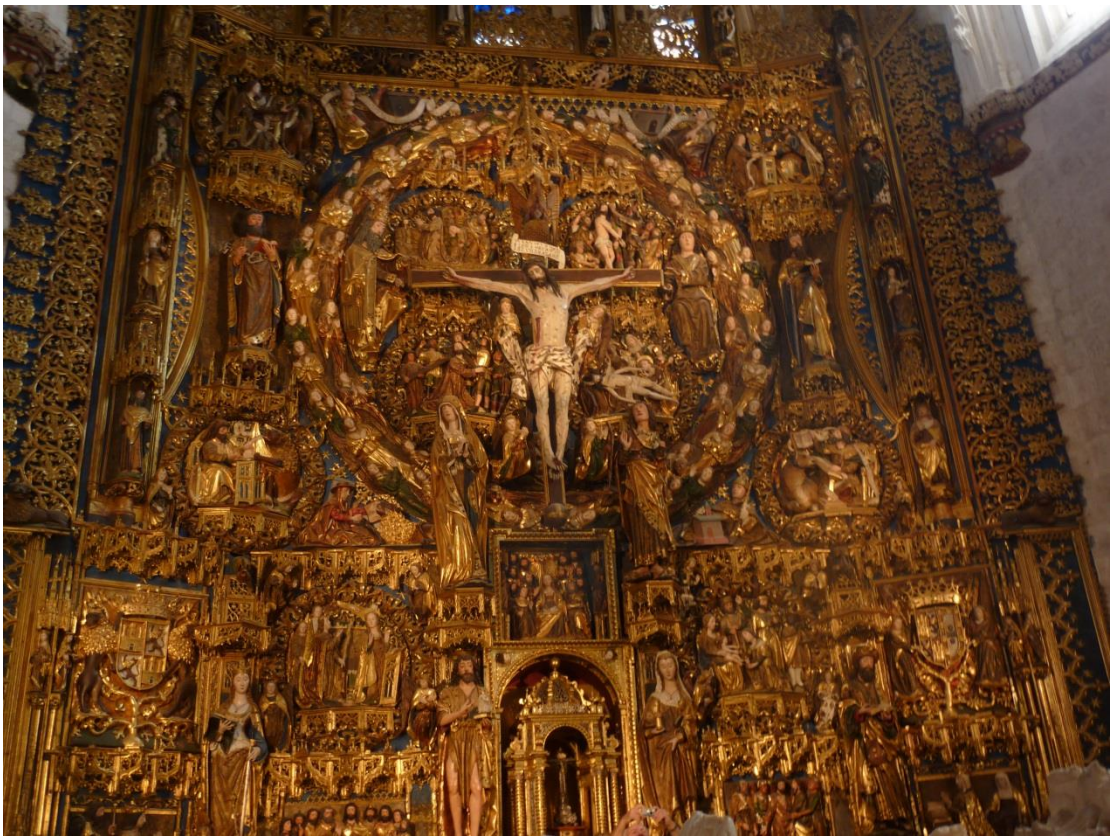

Fig. 24 Gil de Siloé, *Retablo Mayor,* 1496-1499, Charterhouse of Miraflores, Burgos. Photo by author.

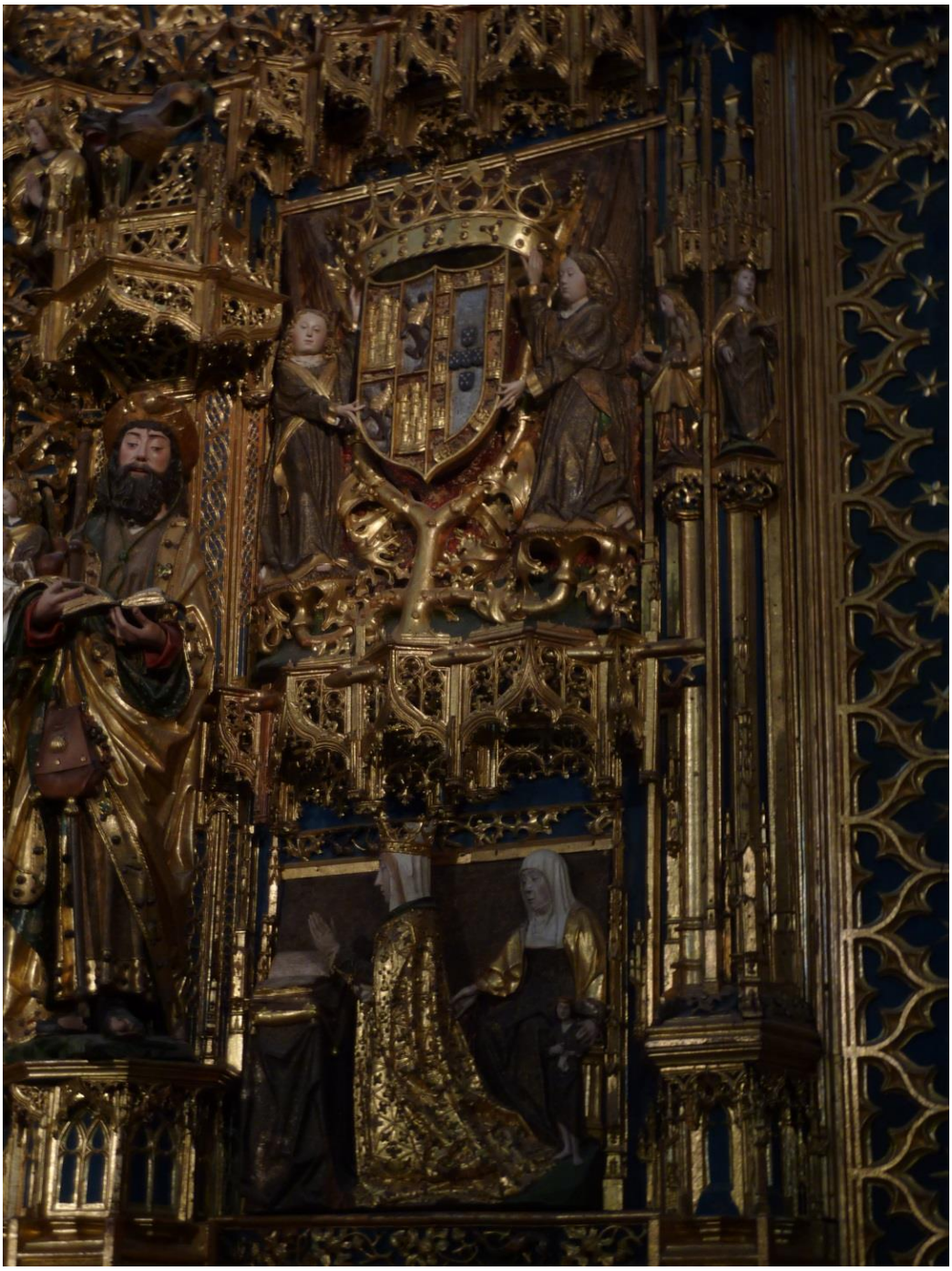

Fig. 25 Gil de Siloé, *Isabel of Portugal* (detail) from the *retablo mayor,* 1496-1499, Charterhouse of Miraflores, Burgos. Photo by author.

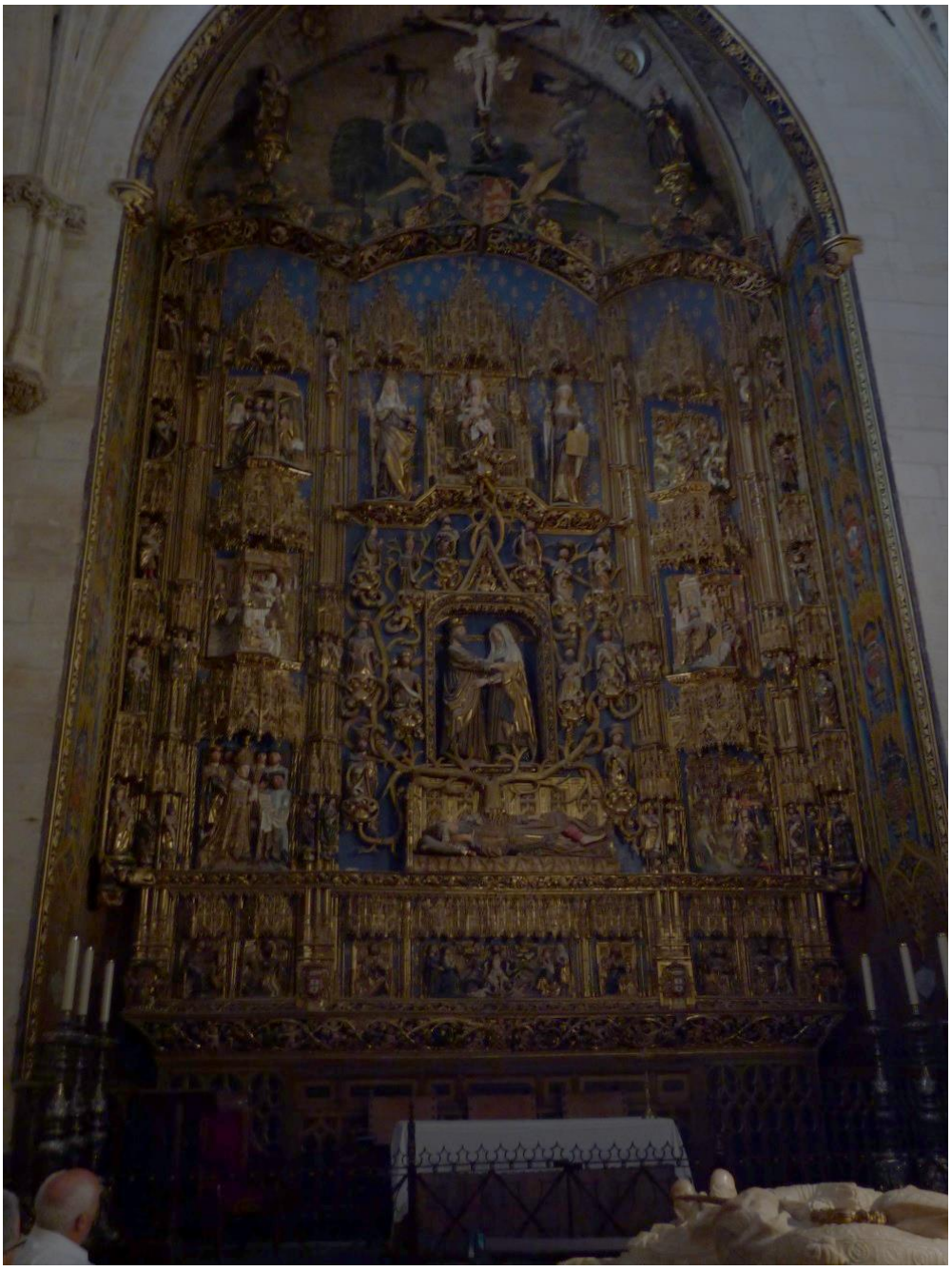

Fig. 26 Gil de Siloé (sculptor) and Diego de la Cruz (painter), *The Tree of Jesse Retablo,* c. 1486, Capilla de Santa Ana, Cathedral, Burgos, Spain. Photo by author.

Fig. 27 Rodrigo Aléman, *The Surrender of Purchena,* choir stall 39 from the *Lower Choir Stalls of Toledo Cathedral,* 1489-1494, Capilla Mayor, Cathedral, Toledo, Spain. After Juan de Mata Carriazo, *Los Reieves de la Guerra de Granada en la Silleria del Coro de la Catedral de Toledo,* 100.

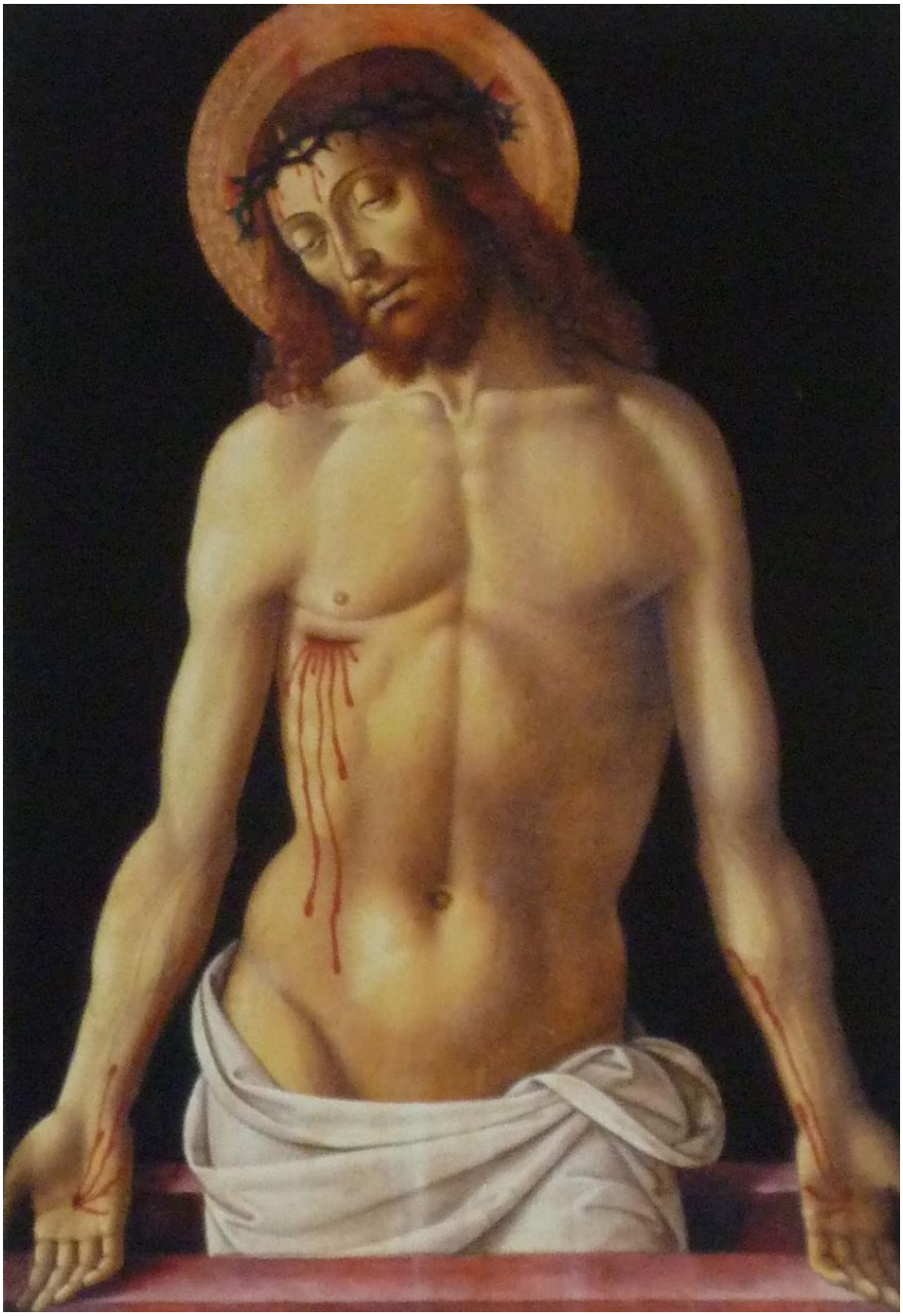

Fig. 28 Pietro Perugino, *Ecce Homo,* c. 1500, Capilla Real, Granada. After Joseé Manuel Pinta Andrade, "Pinturas y pintores de Isabel la Católica," *Isabel la Católica y el Arte,* 217.

Fig. 29 Juan de Flandes, *Crowning of Thorns* (detail), before 1504, Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit. After Silva Maroto, *Juan de Flandes,* 229.

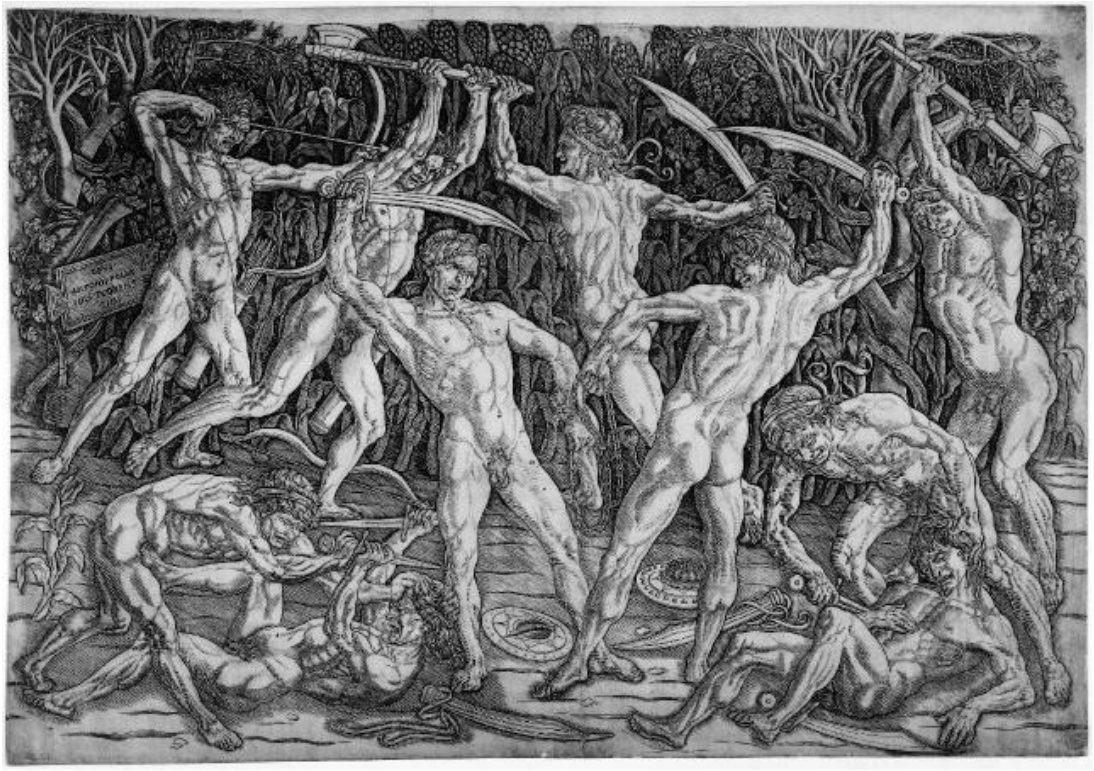

Fig. 30 Antonio Pollaiuolo, *Battle of the Nudes,* c. 1465-1475, British Museum, London. After Wikimedia Commons.

Fig. 31 Arnau Bassa, *Triptych with the Madonna and Child,* c. 1340, Walters Gallery, Baltimore. After Wikimedia Commons.

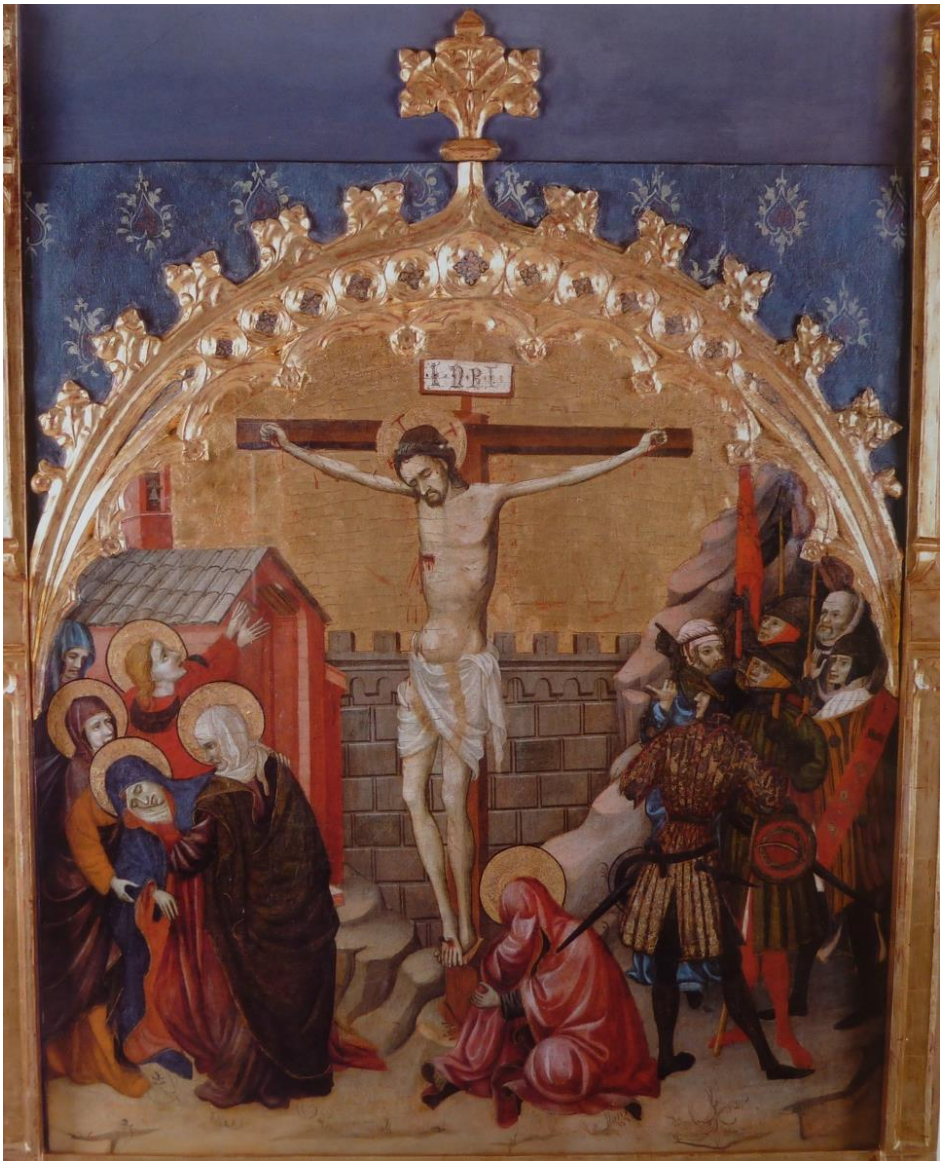

Fig. 32 Antoni Peris, *Crucifiction,* c. 1400, Museo de Bellas Artes, Valencia. After *La memoria recobrada,* 69.

Fig. 33 Lluís Dalmau, *The Virgin of the Consellers,* 1443, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona. After Wikimedia commons.

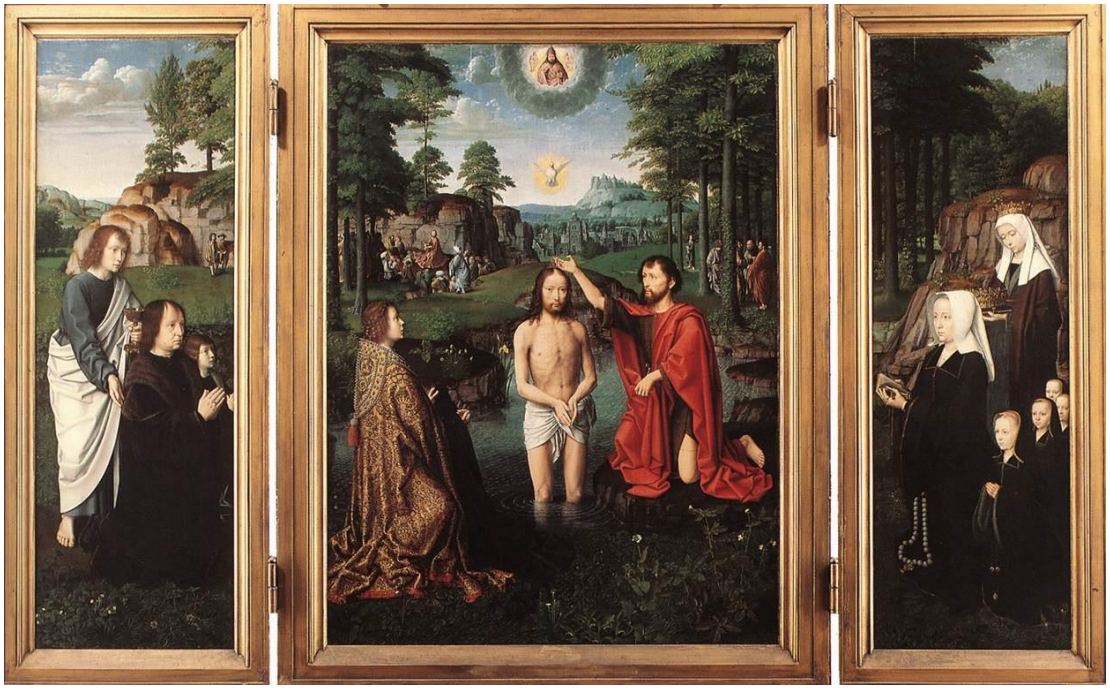

Fig. 34 Gerard David, *John the Baptist Triptych,* 1502-8, Groenigemuseum, Bruges. After Wikimedia Commons.

Fig. 35 Rogier van der Weyden, *Triptych of John the Baptist*, c. 1455, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin. After Campbell and van der Stock, *Rogier van der Weyden (1400-1464): Master of Passions,* 124.

Fig. 36 Juan de Flandes (?), *Copy of the Triptych of John the Baptist*, c. 1500, Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main. After *The Master of Flémalle and Rogier van der Weyden,* 359.

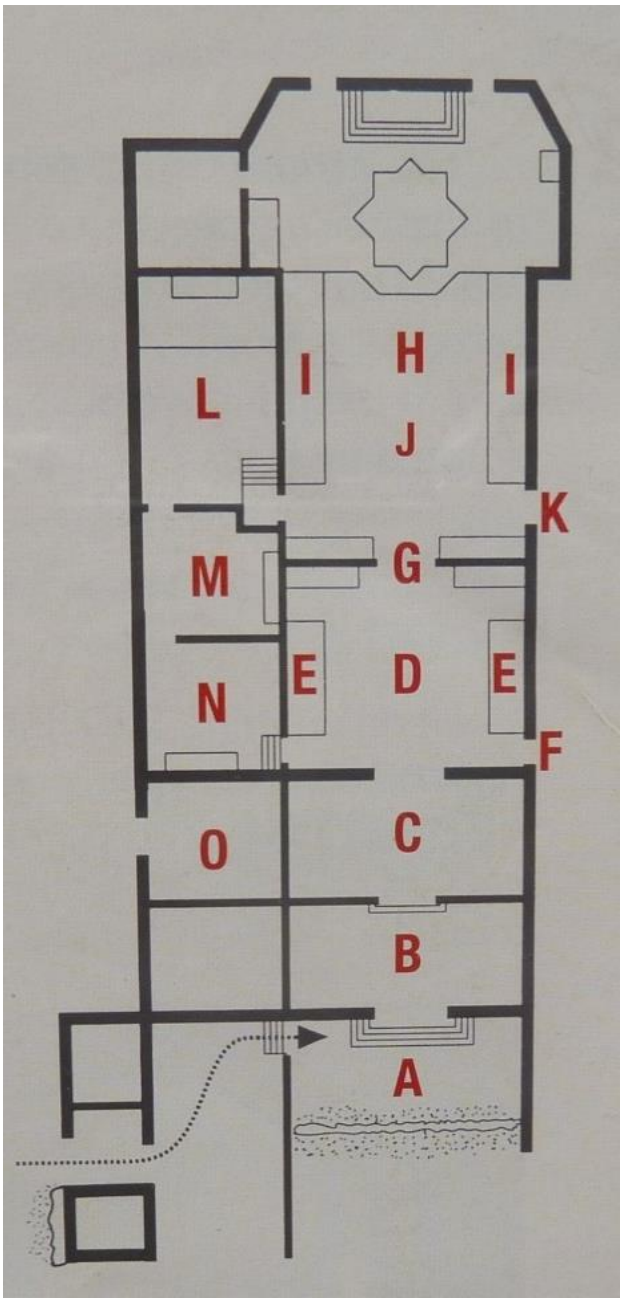

Fig. 37 Plan of Charterhouse of Miraflores, Burgos. After Cartuja de Miraflores, *The Carthusian Monastery of Our Lady*. Burgos, Spain, 2010. Visitor pamphlet, 3.

Fig. 38 Lay choir of the Charterhouse of Miraflores, Burgos, showing pendant altarpieces. After *Juan de Flandes en het Mirafloresretabel, Gesignaleerd en opgespoord,* 10.

Fig. 39 Dirk Bouts, *Altarpiece of the Holy Sacrament,* 1464-1467, St. Pieterskerk, Leuven. After Wikimedia Commons.

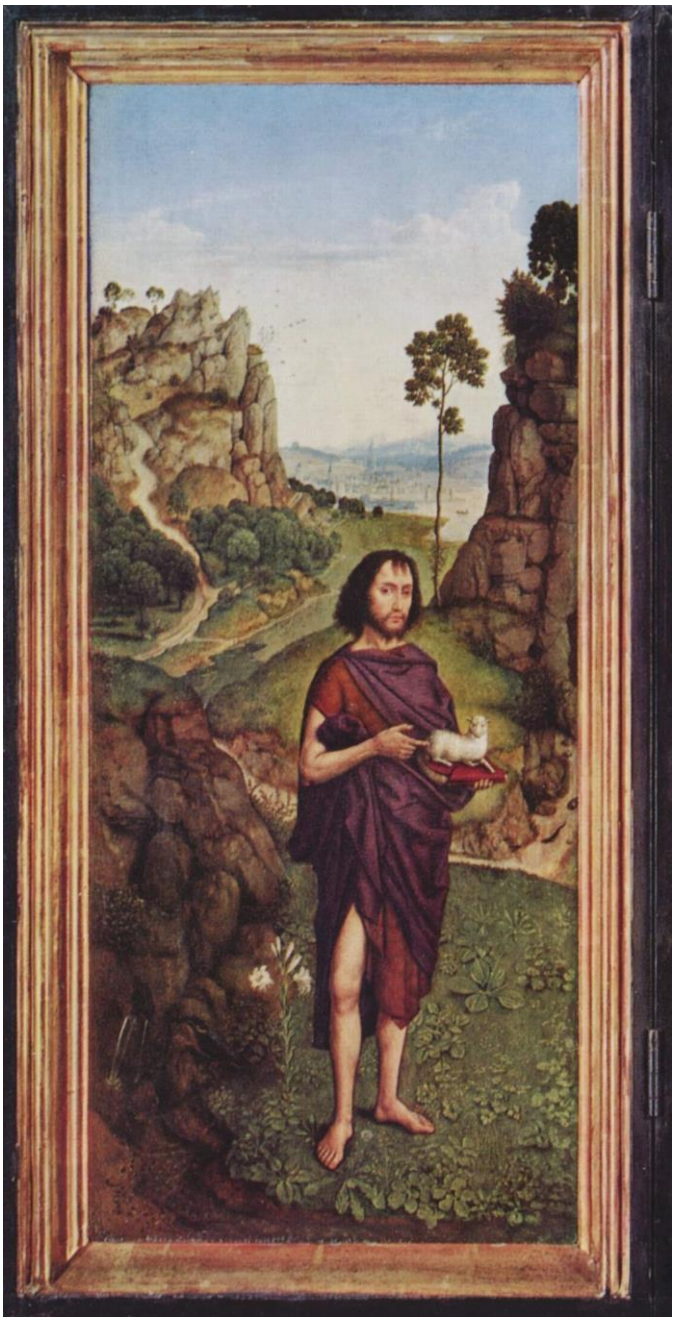

Fig. 40 Dirk Bouts, *Ecce Agnus Dei,* c. 1462, Alte Pinakothek, Munich. After Wikimedia Commons.

Fig. 41 Master of the Legend of St. Catherine, *Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi,* c. 1495, photo composite. Panels in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Artes, Brussels, Parish church of Binnengen, Switzerland, and a private collection, Canary Islands. After Martens, *Peinture Flamande et gout Ibérique,* 38.

Fig. 42 Francisco Chacón, *La Quinta Angustia,* c. 1490, Museo de Bellas Artes, Granada. After Joseé Manuel Pinta Andrade, "Pinturas y pintores de Isabel la Católica," *Isabel la Católica y el Arte,* 25.

Fig. 43 Pedro Berrugete, *Annunciation,* c. 1495, Charterhouse of Miraflores, Burgos. Photo by Author.

Fig. 44 Pedro Berrugete, *Retablo Mayor, 1496,* Royal Monastery of Santo Tomás, Ávila. After Wikimedia Commons.

Fig. 45 Pedro Berrugete, *San Juan Evangelista en Patmos,* c. 1480, Capilla Real, Granada. After Joseé Manuel Pinta Andrade, "Pinturas y pintores de Isabel la Católica," *Isabel la Católica y el Arte, 219*.

Fig. 46 Pedro Berrugete, *Auto de Fe,* c. 1495, Museo del Prado, Madrid. After Wikimedia Commons.

Fig. 47 *Entombment of St. Catherine and the Virgin as the Burning Bush,* Capilla Real, Granada. After Joseé Manuel Pinta Andrade, "Pinturas y pintores de Isabel la Católica," *Isabel la Católica y el Arte,* 23.

Fig. 48 Composition by Robert Campin, *Mass of St. Gregory,* c. 1440, Museés Royaux des Beaux-Artes, Brussels. After Wikimedia Commons.

Fig. 49 Peter van Aelst, *Mass of St. Gregory,* 1502/1504, Palacio de La Granja de San Ildefonso, Segovia. After Concha Herrero Carretero, *Tapices de Isabel la Católica: origen de la colección real español,* 39.

Fig. 50 Rogier van der Weyden, *St. Luke Painting the Virgin,* c. 1440, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. After Wikimedia Commons.

Fig. 51 *St. Luke Painting the Virgin,* c. 1500, Louvre, Paris. After Concha Herrero Carretero, *Tapices de Isabel la Católica: origen de la colección real español,* 31.

Fig. 52 *Nativity,* c. 1498, Palacio de La Granja de San Ildefonso, Segovia. After Concha Herrero Carretero, *Tapices de Isabel la Católica: origen de la colección real español,* 37.

Fig. 53 Juan de Flandes, *Baptism of Christ* from the *Retablo de Juan Bautista,* Private collection, Madrid. After Silva Maroto, *Juan de Flandes,* 157.

Fig. 54 Jan van Eyck, *Singing Angel* from the *Ghent Altarpiece,* 1432, Saint Bavo Cathedral, Ghent. After Wikimedia Commons.

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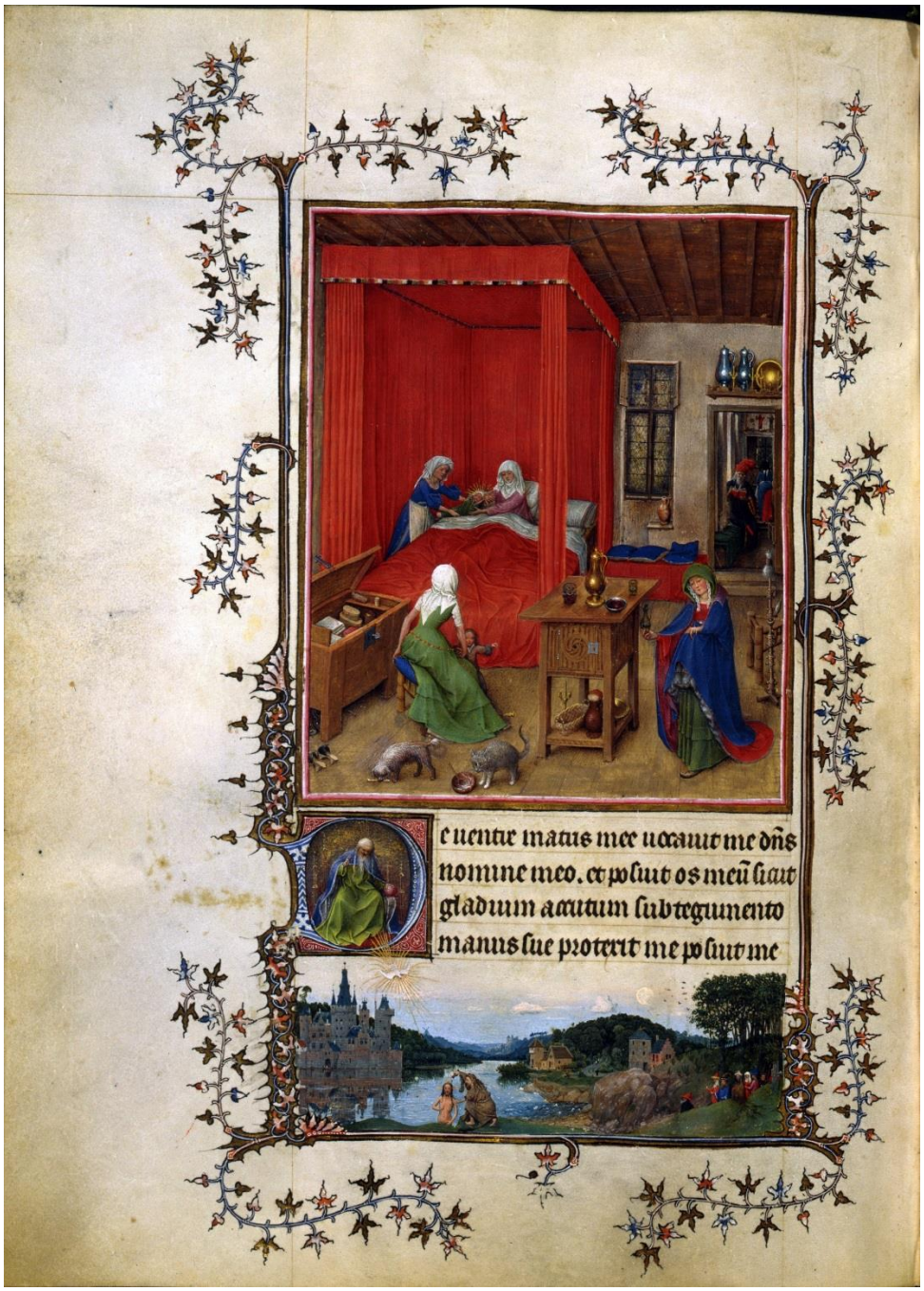

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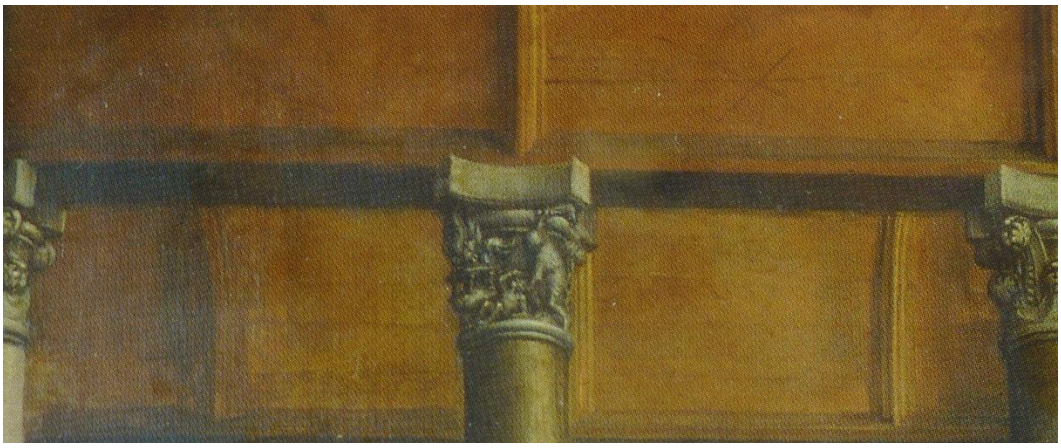

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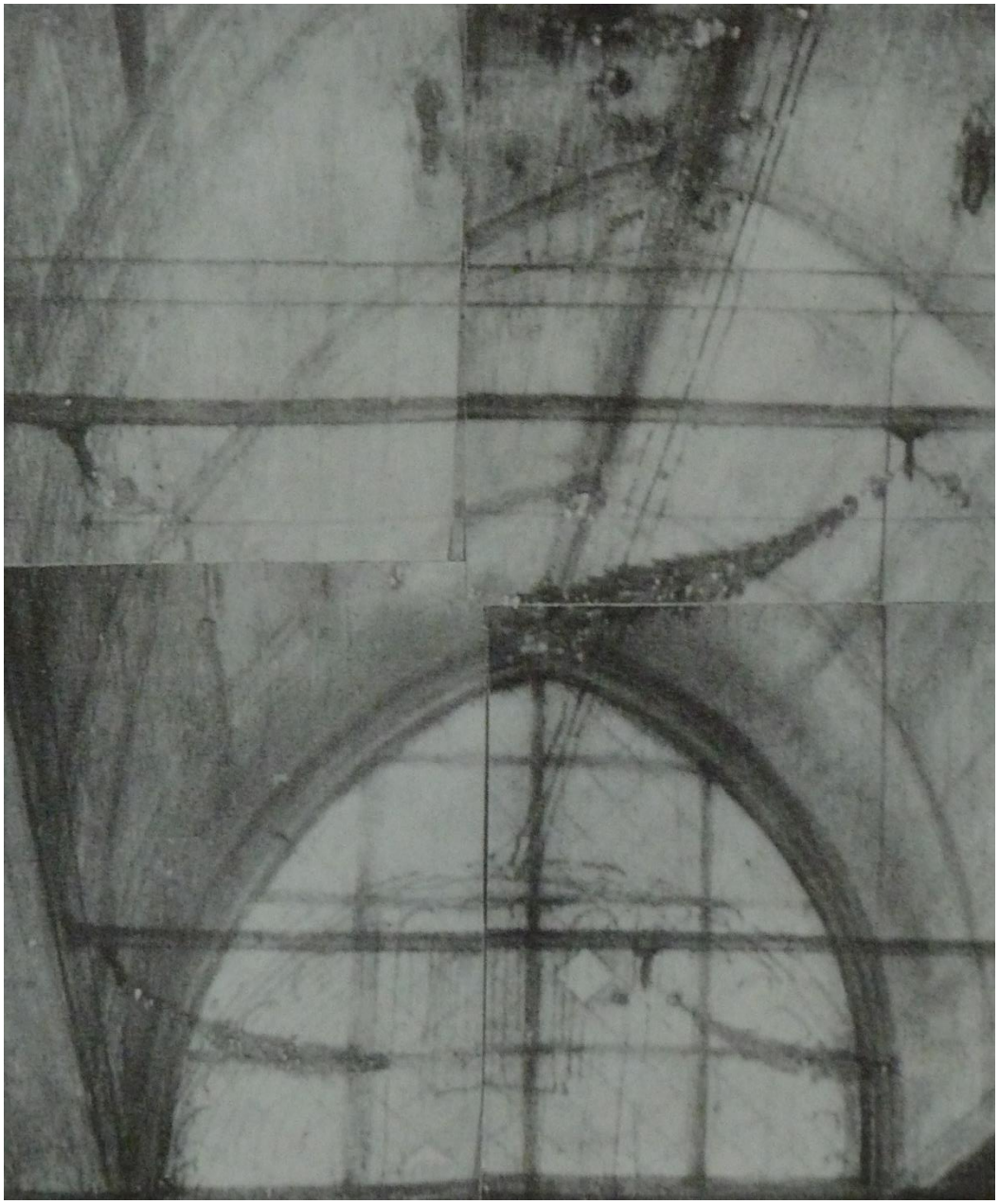

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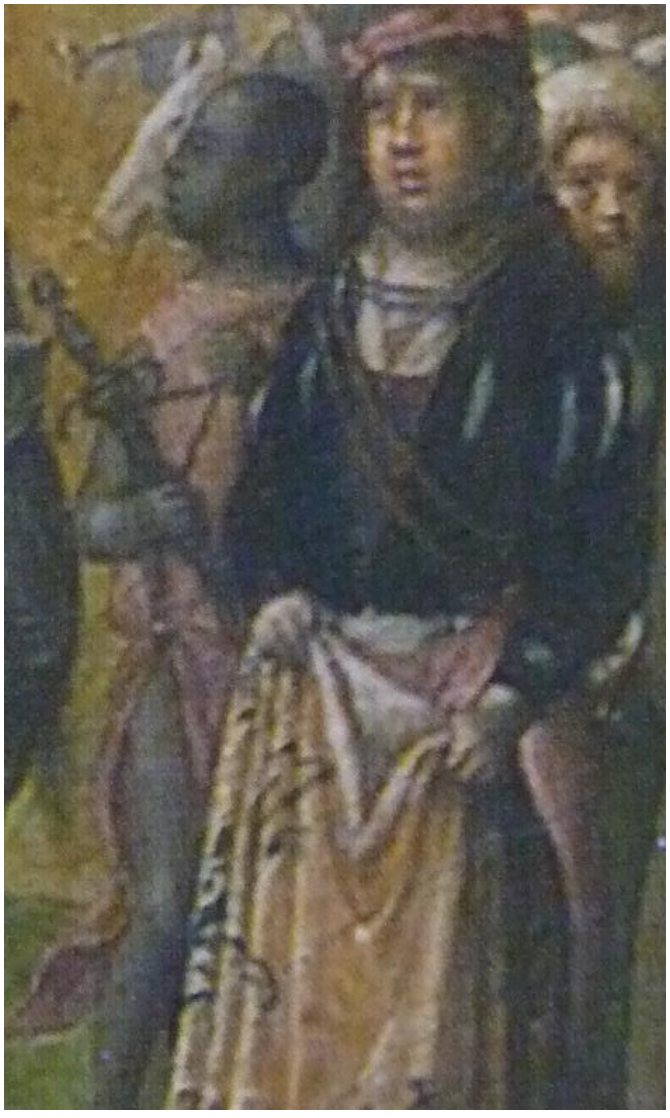

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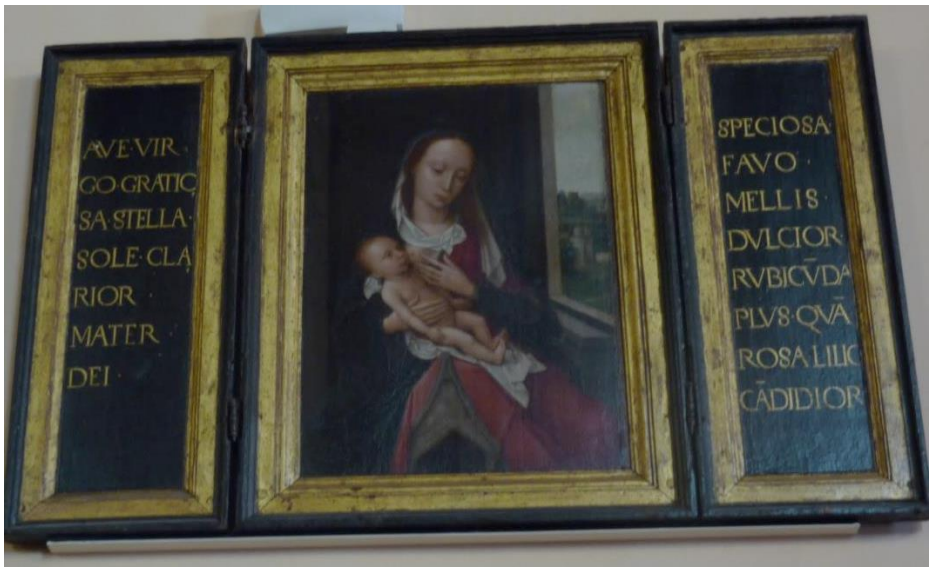

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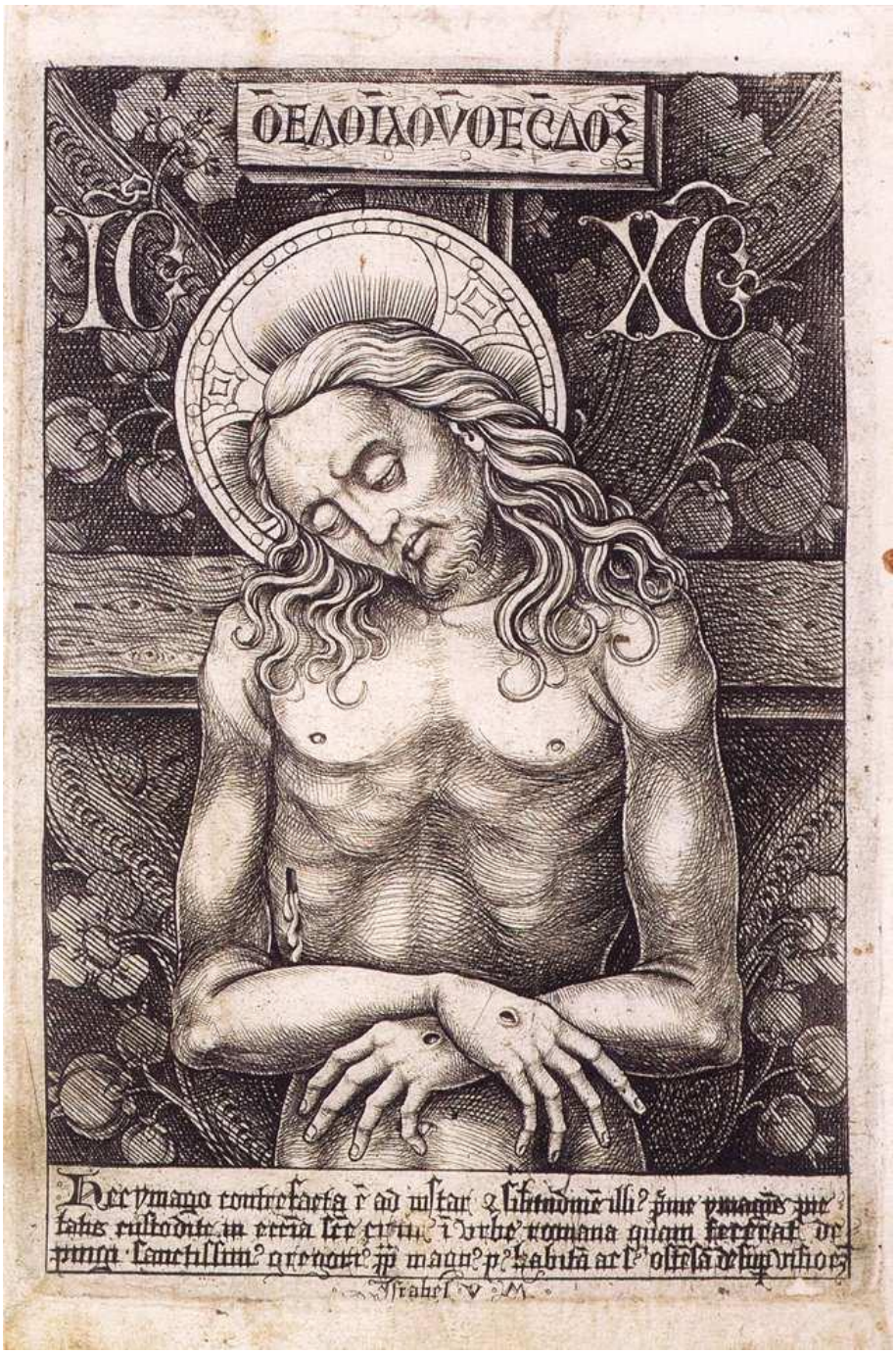

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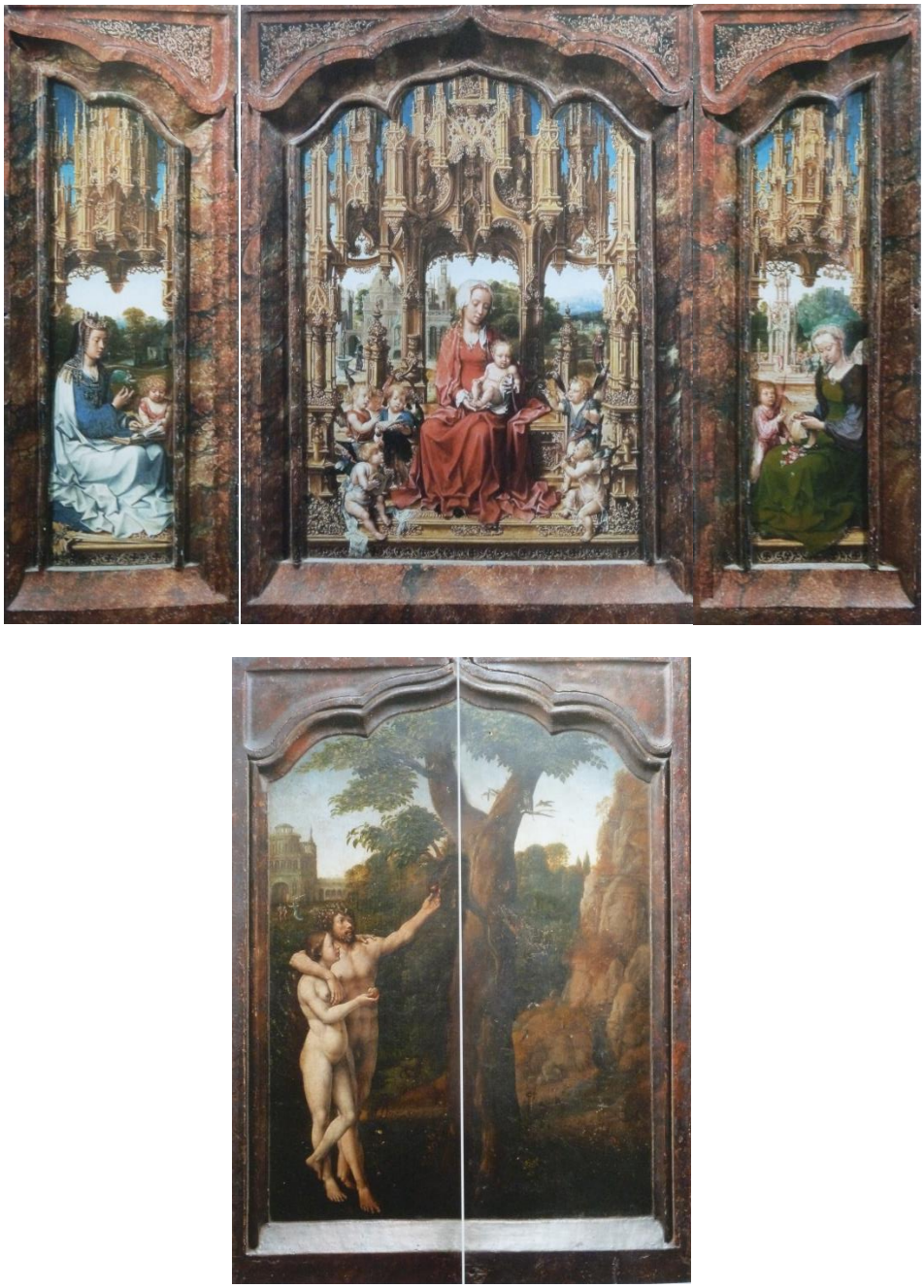

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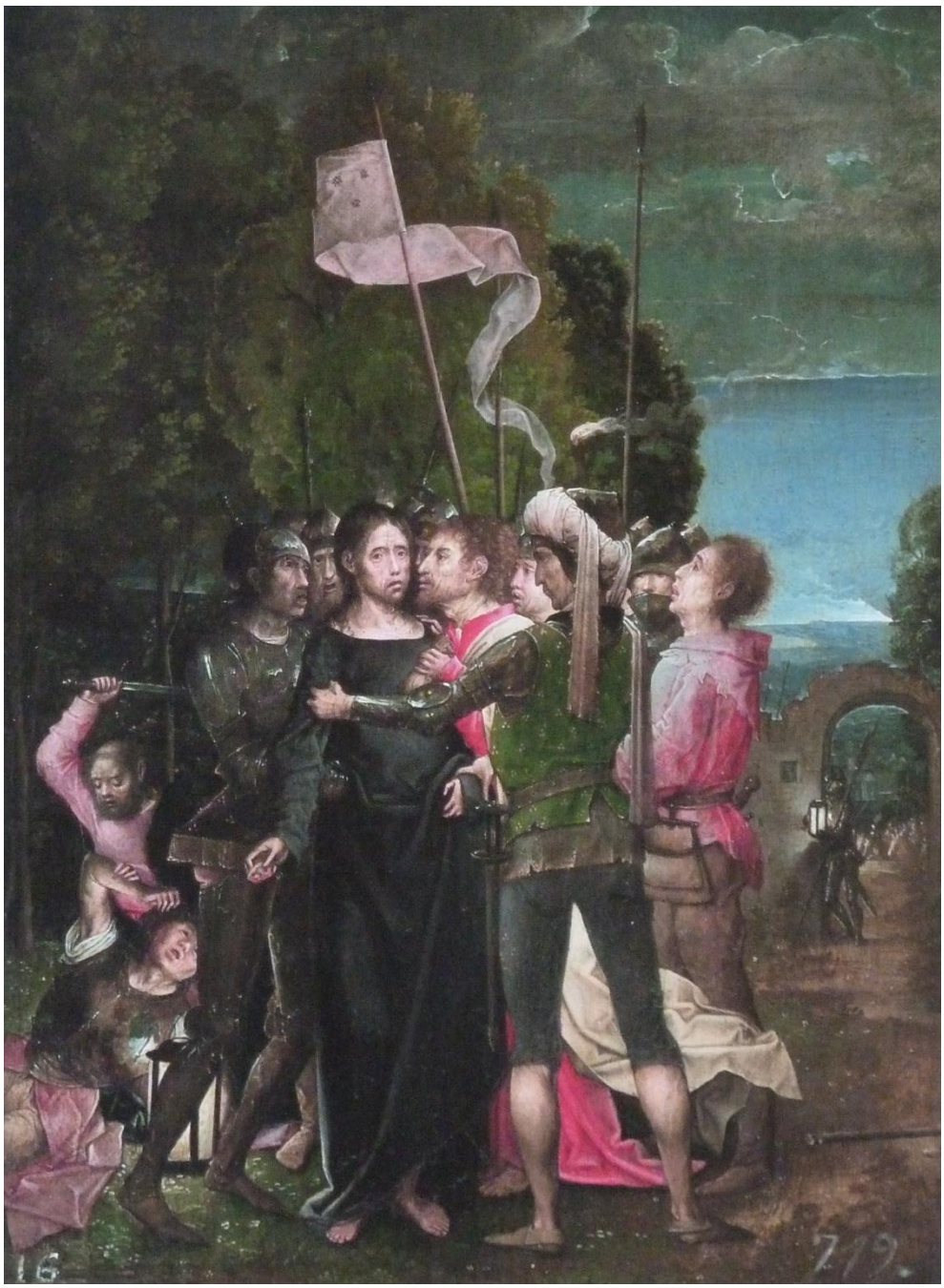

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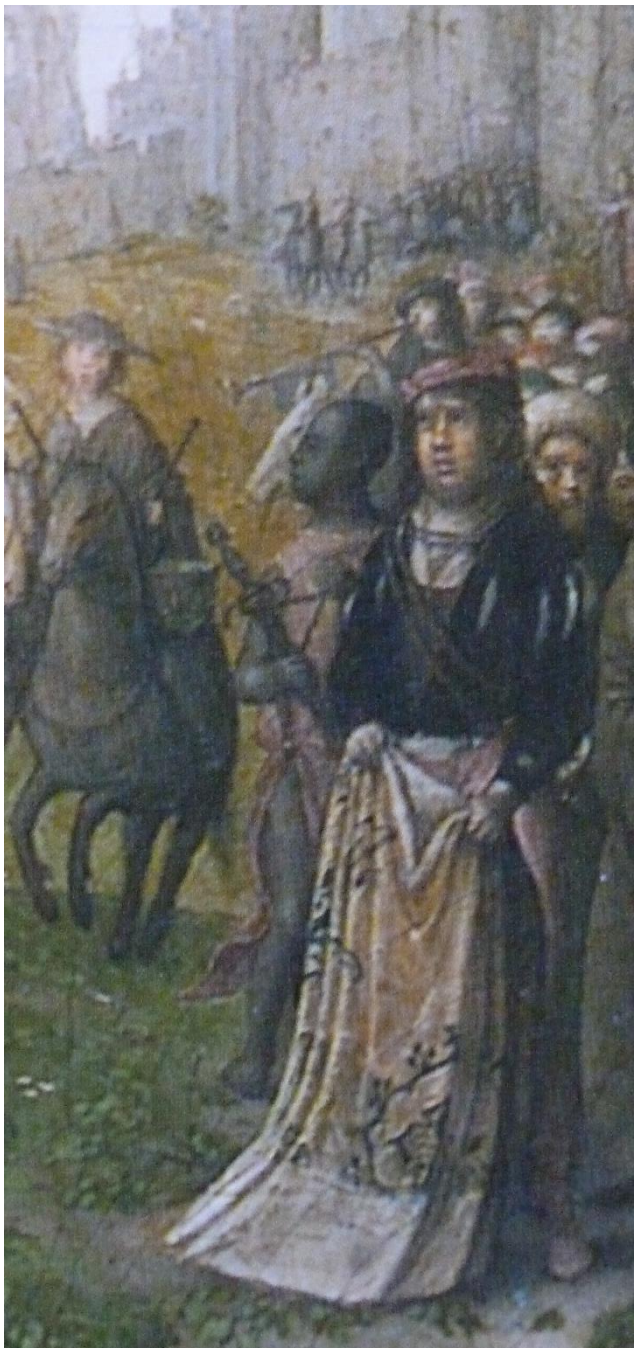

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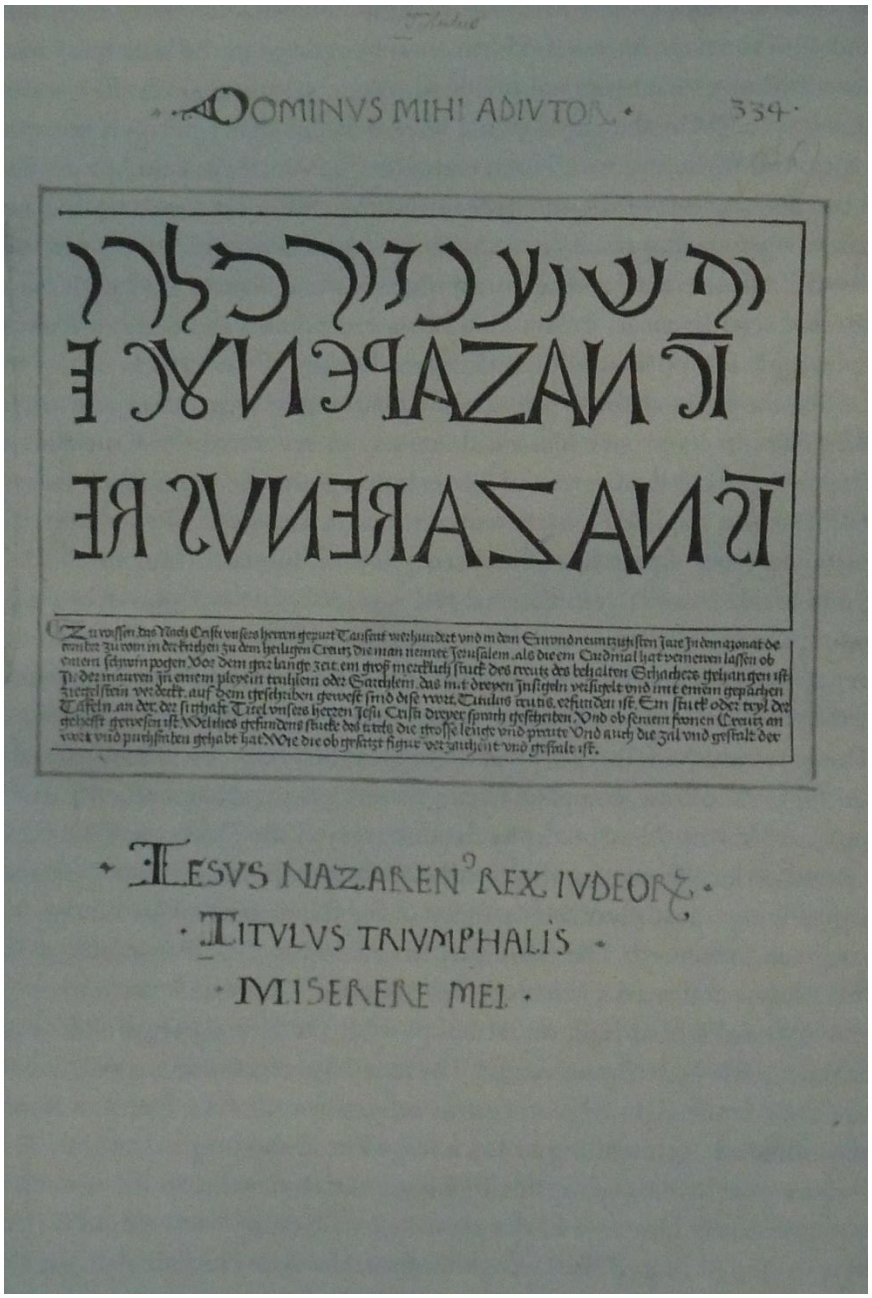

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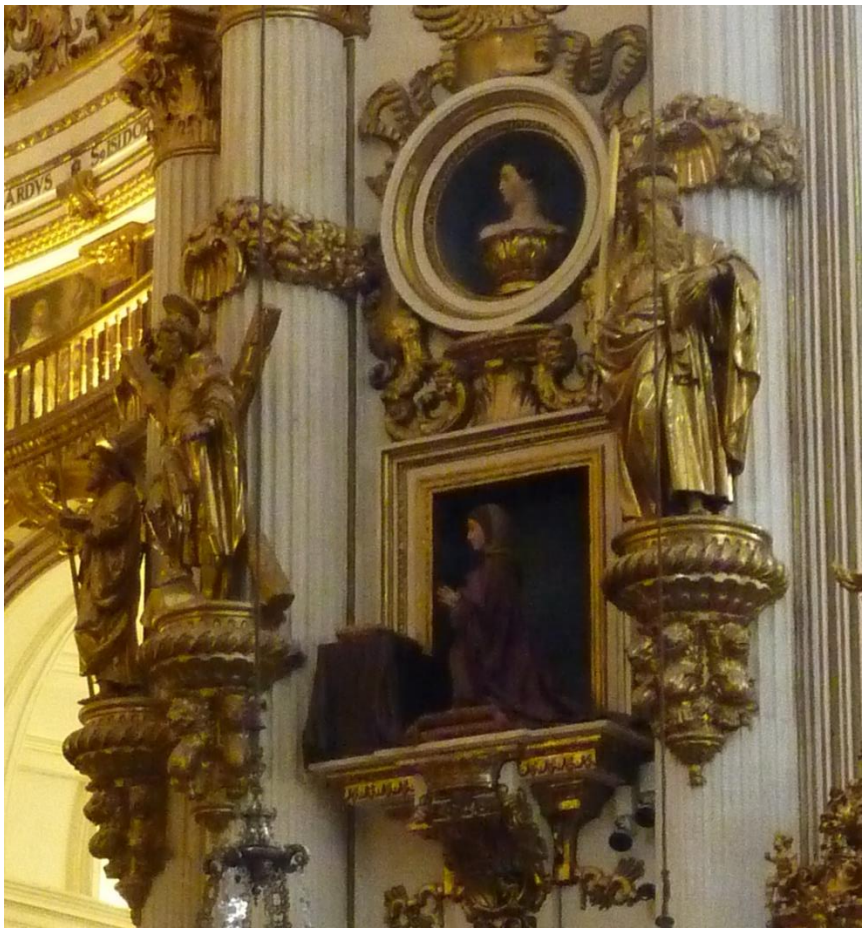

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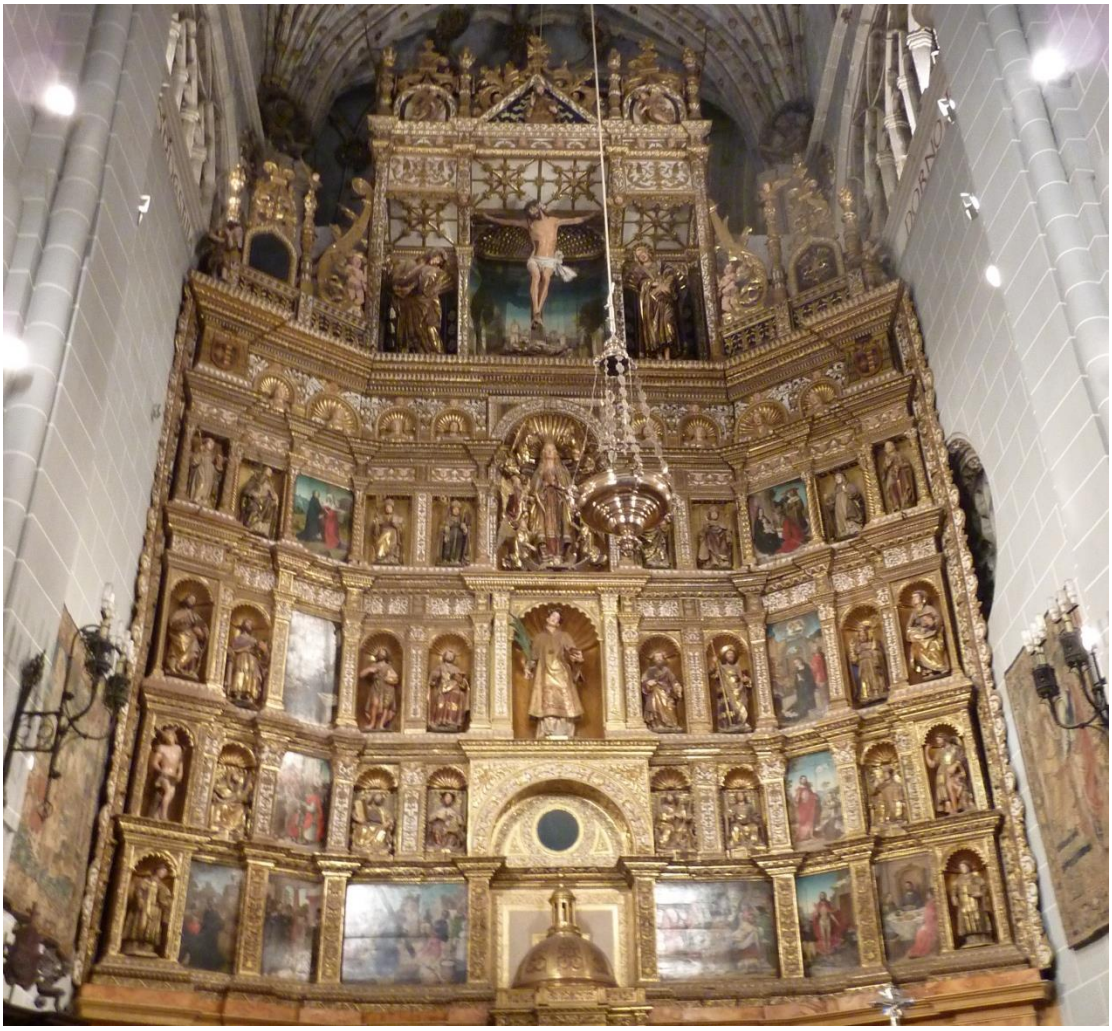

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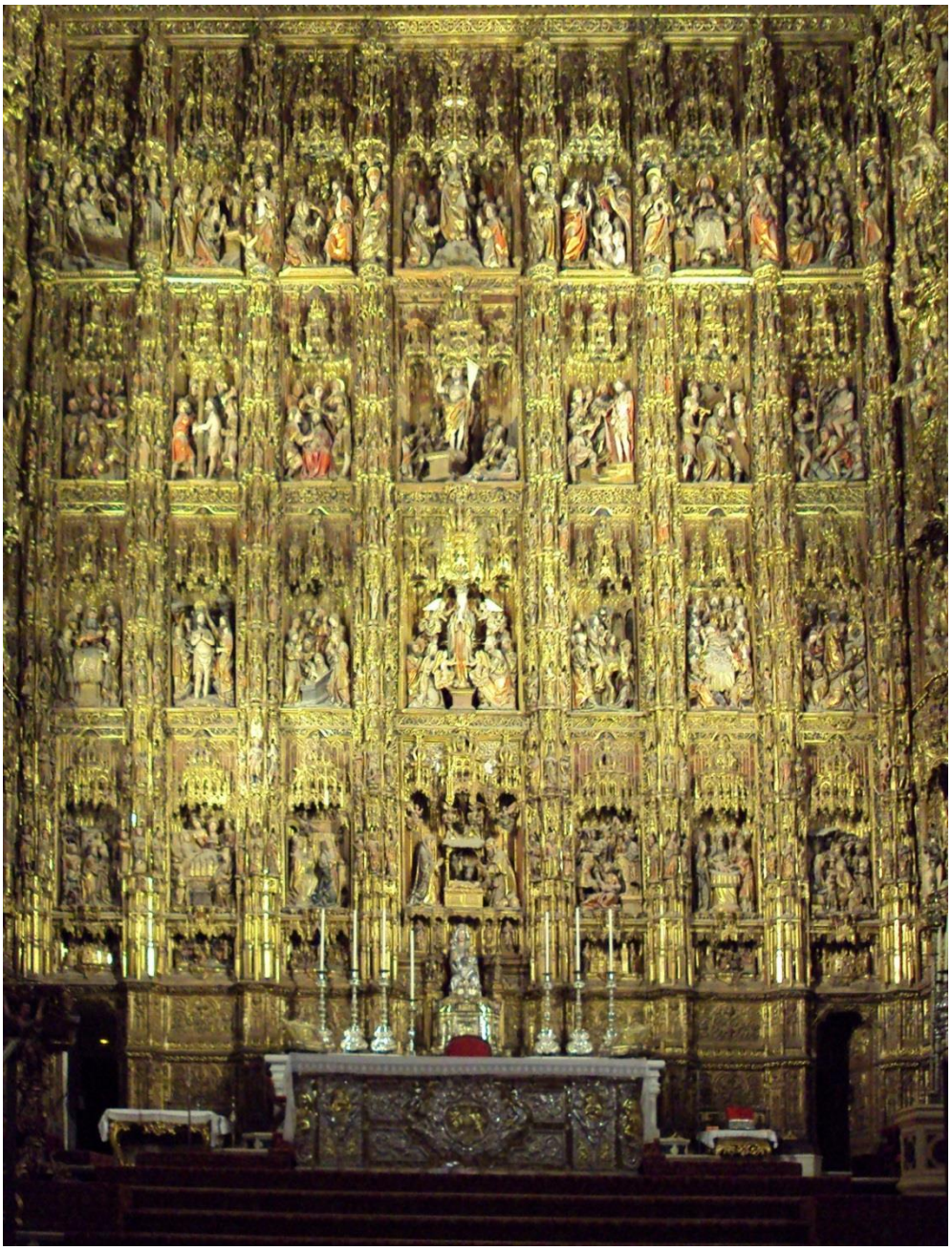

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Fig. 134 Jan van Eyck, *The Ghent Altarpiece* (detail), 1432, Saint Bavo Cathedral, Ghent. After Wikimedia commons.

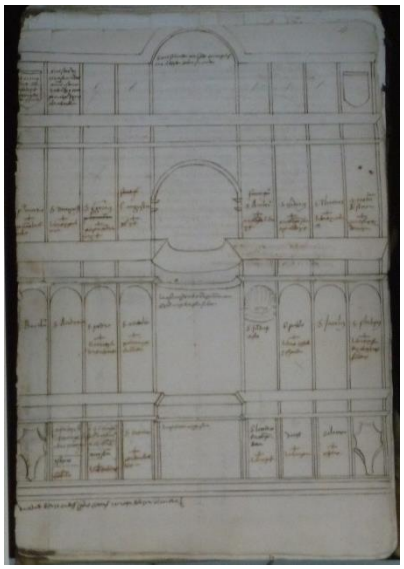

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Fig. 138 Juan Tejerina, *Adoration of the Magi,* 1522-1525, Cathedral, Palencia. Photo by author.

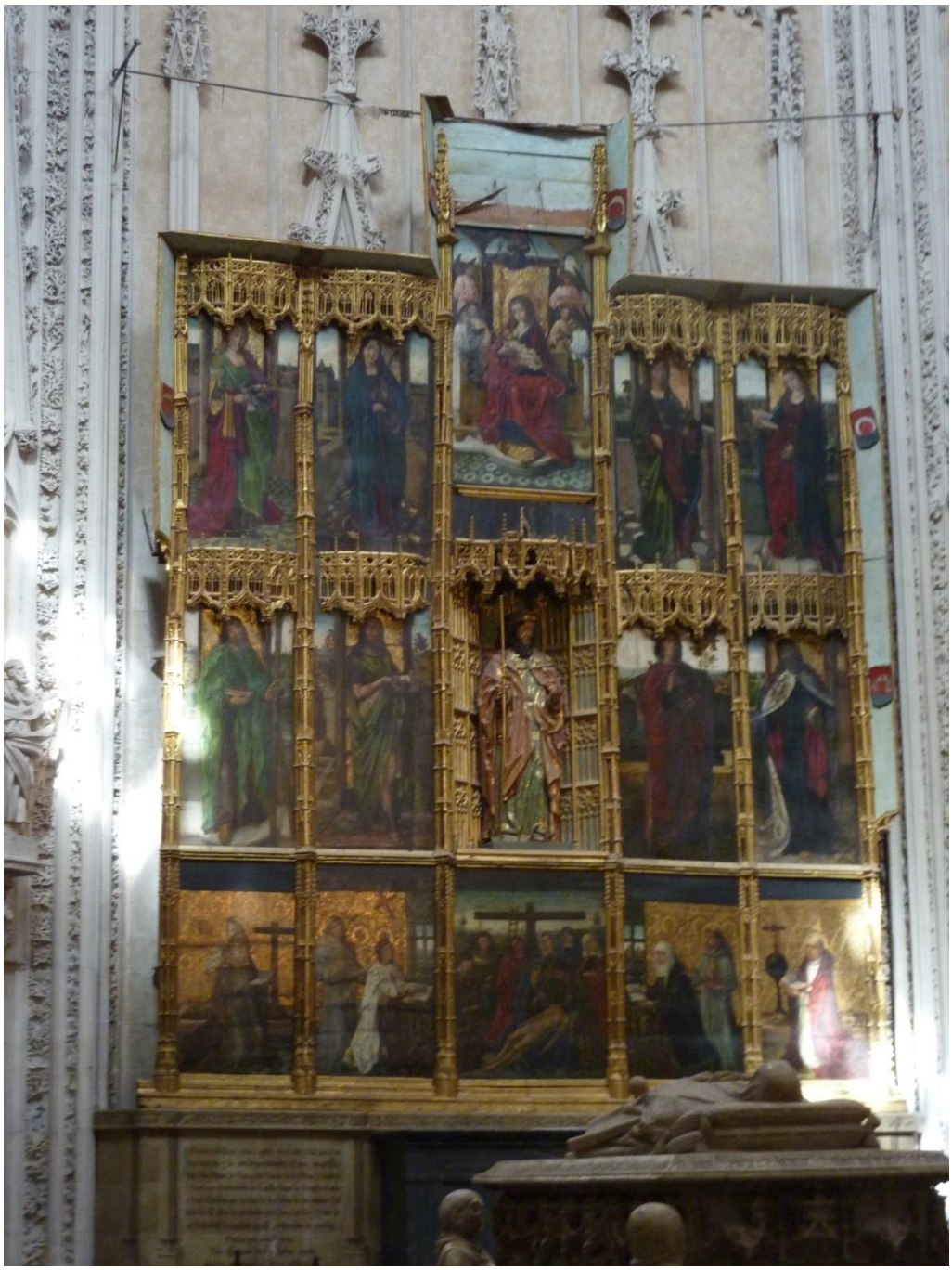

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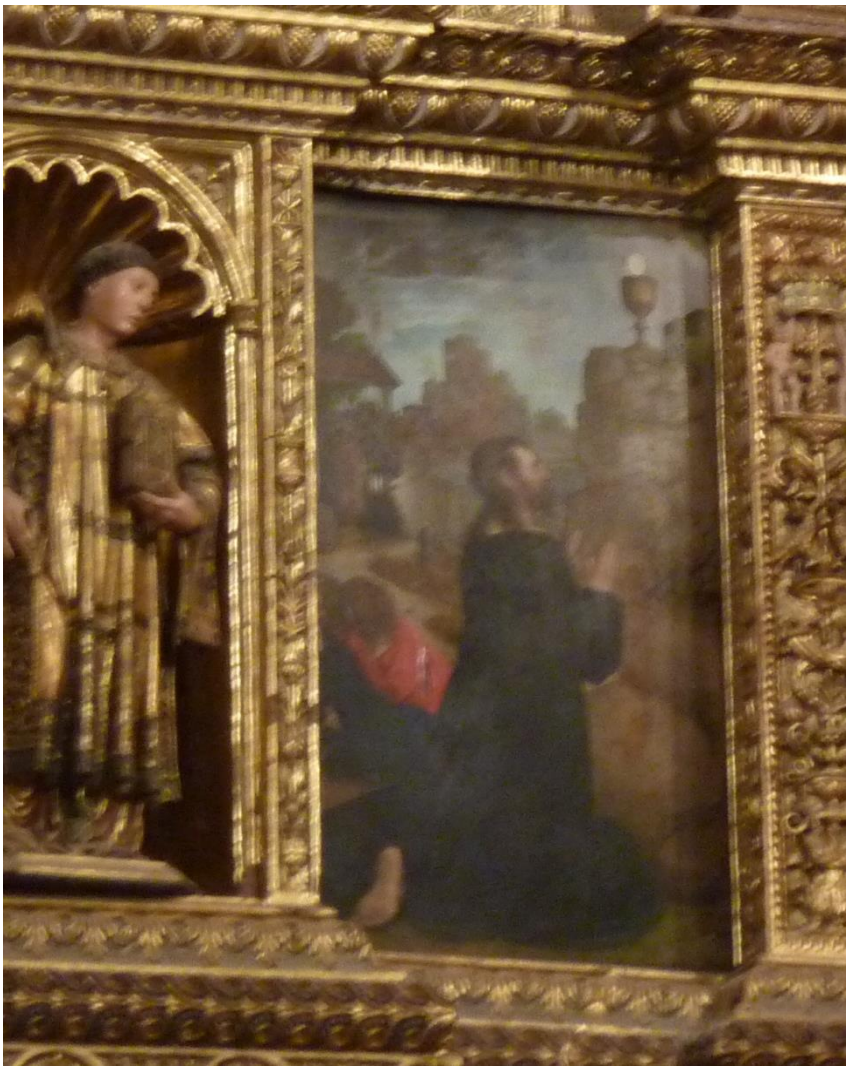
Fig. 140 Photo composite of the lower images in the *retablo mayor* of the cathedral of Palencia as originally installed. Photo by author.



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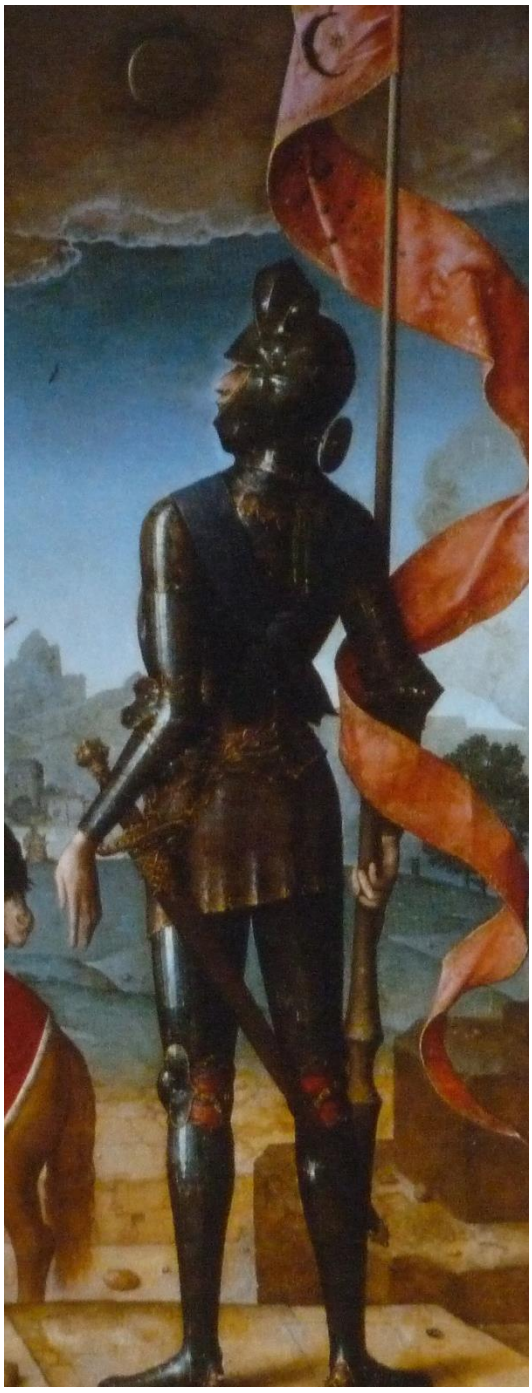

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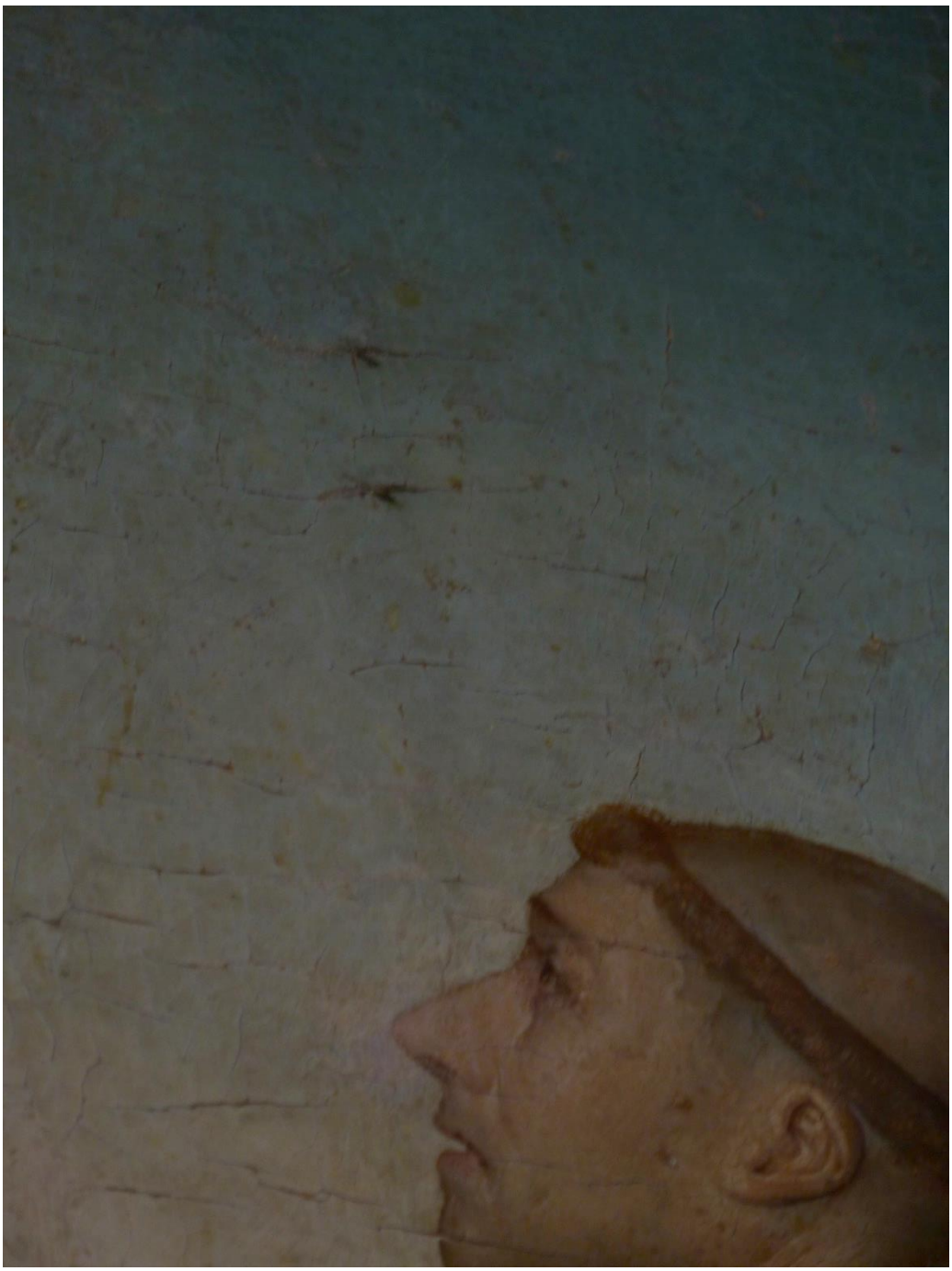

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Fig. 153 Hans Memling, *Last Judgment* (detail), c, 1467-1471, Nuzeum Narodowe, Gdansk. After Wikimedia commons.

Fig. 154 Gerard David, *St. Michael Altarpiece* (detail), c. 1505-1510, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. After Wikimedia commons.

Fig. 155 Juan Pérez Casatus, *Juan de Flandes San Miguel copy,* 1587, Museo de Salamanca, Salamanca. Photo by author.

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Fig. 157 Gerard David, *Pieta,* c. 1515-1520, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia. After Wikimedia commons.

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Fig. 165 *Triptych of the Virgin,* c. 1500, Church of San Gil, Burgos. Photo by author.

Appendix A: Important Events in the Life of Juan de Flandes

1496-1505	**Court Painter to Isabel la Católica**
July 12, 1496	Payment of 6,000 mrs. to Juan de Flandes recorded by the royal treasurer Gonzalo de Baeza. This is his first recorded payment at the court of Isabel la Católica.
October 27, 1496	Juan de Flandes receives an annual pension of 20,000 mrs. and is named *pintor de la reyna.*
1496-1499	Juan de Flandes resided at least part-time at the *cartuja* of Miraflores, creating the *Retablo de San Juan Bautista,* the *Man of Sorrows*, and the copy of the *Miraflores Altarpiece*.
November 26, 1504	Death of Isabel la Católica.
January 15, 1505	Final payment of 20,000 mrs. made to Juan de Flandes for his services as court painter.
1505-1509	**Salamanca**
August 29, 1505	Juan de Flandes submitted a sample panel for the consideration of his inclusion in the *Retablo de la Capilla* project at the University of Salamanca.
September 1, 1505	The University of Salamanca signed a contract with Juan de Flandes guaranteeing 85,000 mrs. for the creation of fourteen painted panels for inclusion in the *retablo mayor* of the University Chapel.
July 10, 1507	A second contract was signed between Juan de Flandes and the University of Salamanca for the production of a *banco* for the *retablo mayor* valued at 15,000 mrs.
November 9, 1507	Payment to Juan de Flandes for the *banco* recorded in the account books of the University of Salamanca, signaling

completion of the contract.

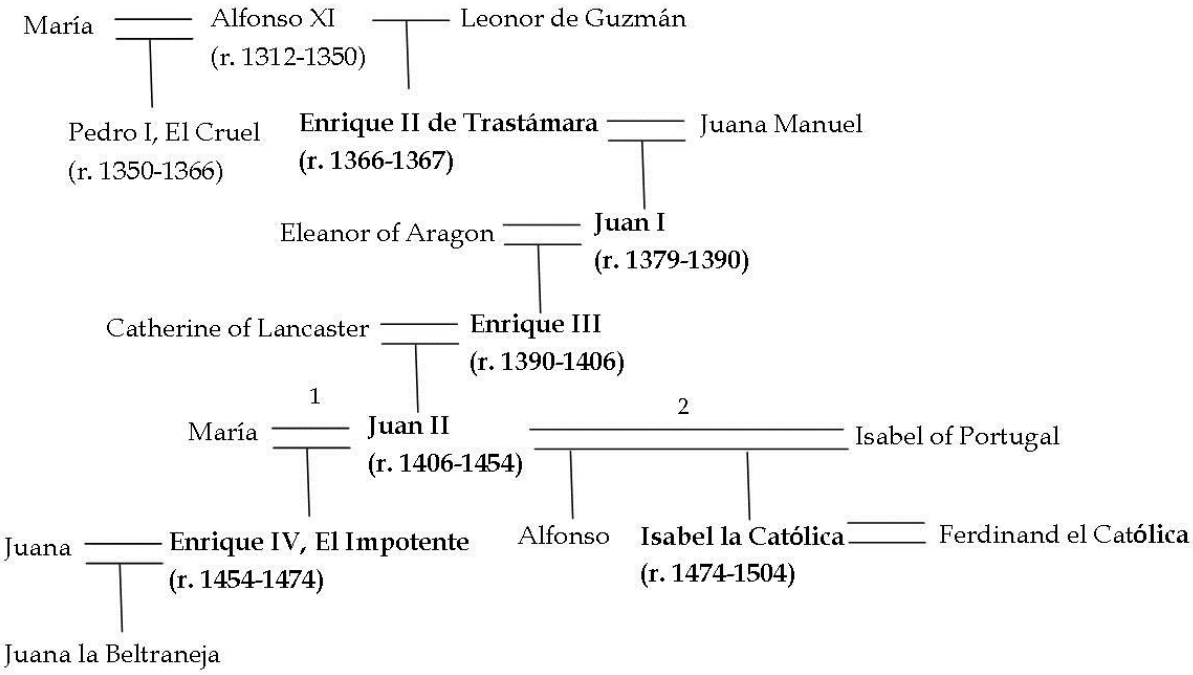
July 4, 1508	Juan de Flandes petitioned the University of Salamanca for an increase to the contracted amount for the fourteen paintings of the *retablo mayor* for the University Chapel.
July 24, 1508	The Vicerector of the University of Salamanca agreed to increase the payment to Juan de Flandes by 15,000 mrs.
August 16, 1508	Juan de Flandes mentioned as an expert who will appraise the *retablo* for the University of Salamanca Hospital painted by Anton de Lurrera upon its completion.
September 14, 1508	The University of Salamanca records the fulfillment of Juan de Flandes' contract and the vacating of his room.
1509-1519	**Palencia**
December 19, 1509	Contract signed between Juan de Flandes and Bishop Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca for eleven panels to be included in the *retablo mayor* project for the cathedral..
October 21, 1519	Payment recorded to Juan de Flandes for progress on the panels for the *retablo mayor* of the cathedra..
December 13, 1519	Payment recorded to the wife of Juan de Flandes, indicating his death.

Appendix B: Payments to Painters Recorded in Isabel's Accounts

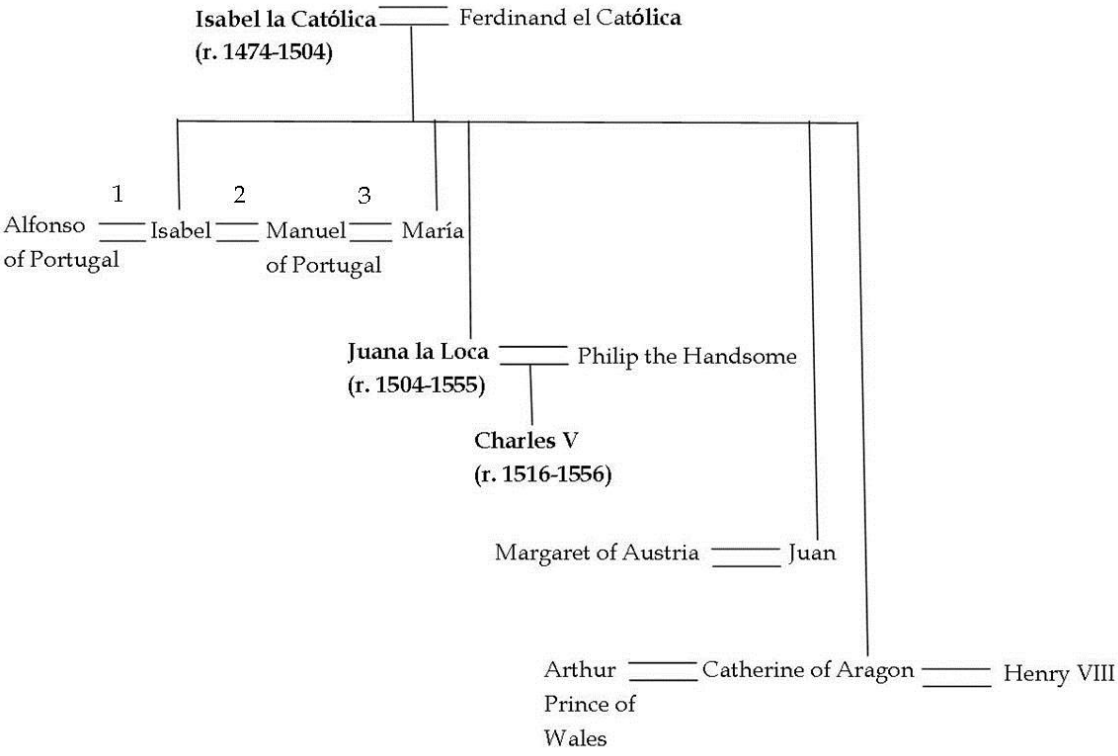
Year	Juan de Flandes	Michael Sittow	Master Antonio of England
1489			7,300 mrs.
1490			2,812 mrs.
1494		50,000 mrs.	
1495		10,000 mrs.	
1496	67,633 mrs.	118,834 mrs.	
1497	10,000 mrs.		
1498		56,499 mrs.	
1499	86,735 mrs.	55,000 mrs.	
1500	75,000 mrs.	66,666 mrs.	
1501	24,000 mrs.	20,000 mrs.	
1502	36,000 mrs.	10,000 mrs.	
1503	30,000 mrs.		
1504	30,000 mrs.		
TOTAL	**359,368 mrs.**	**386,999 mrs.**	**10,112 mrs.**

Appendix C: Trastamara and Spanish-Hapsburg Family Trees

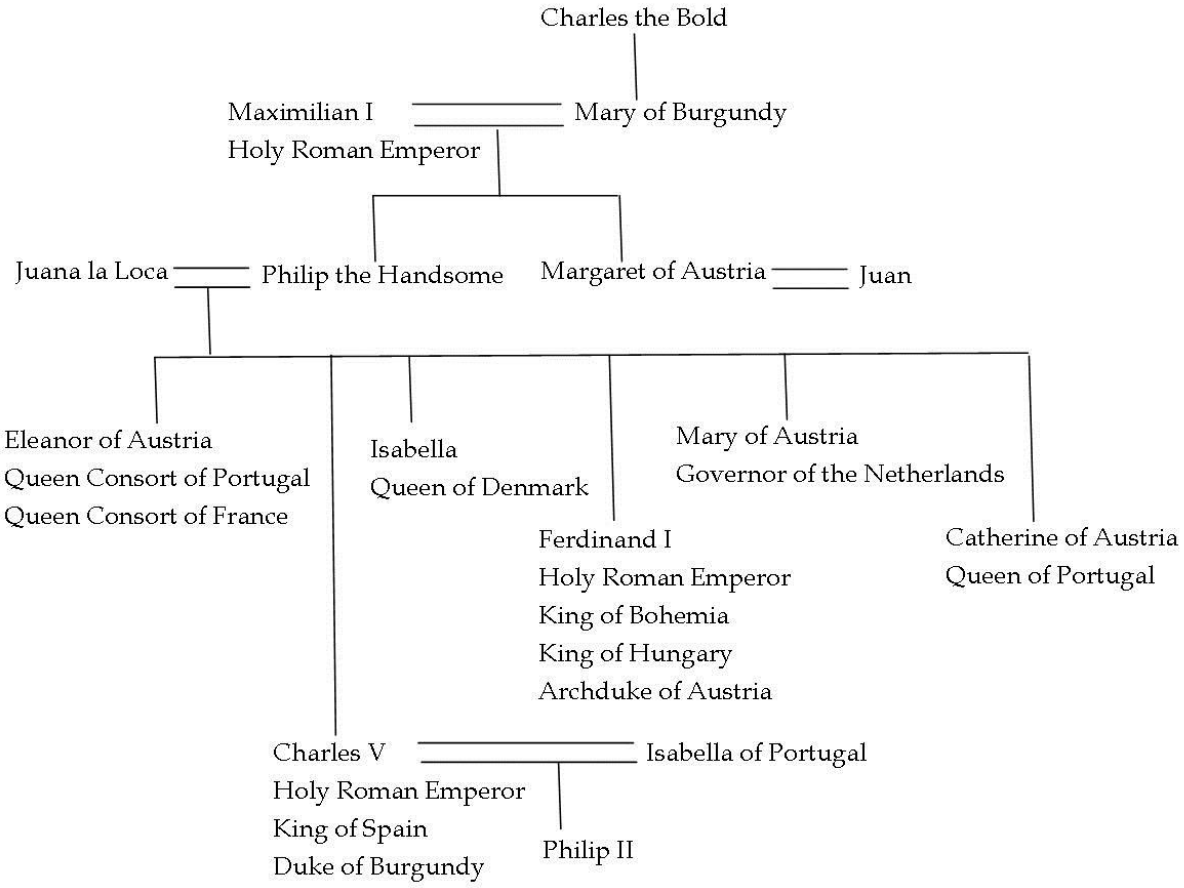
Trastamara Family Tree



Isabel and Fernando's Children

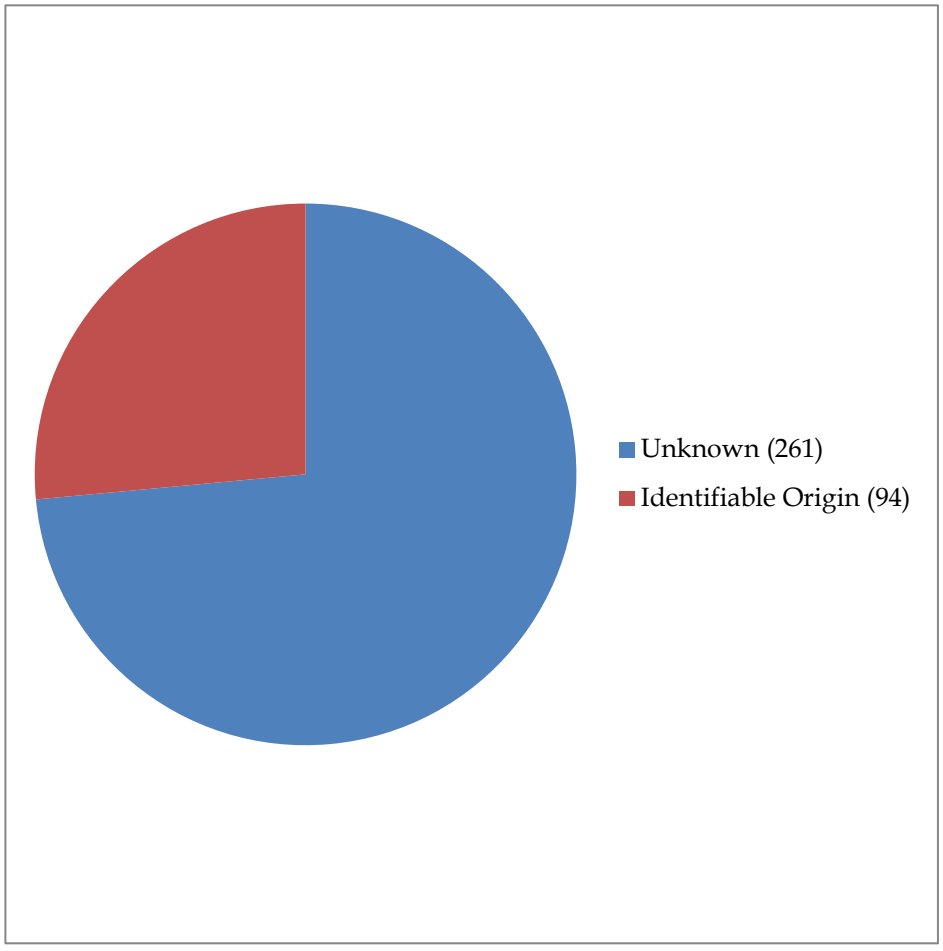


Hapsburg Family Tree

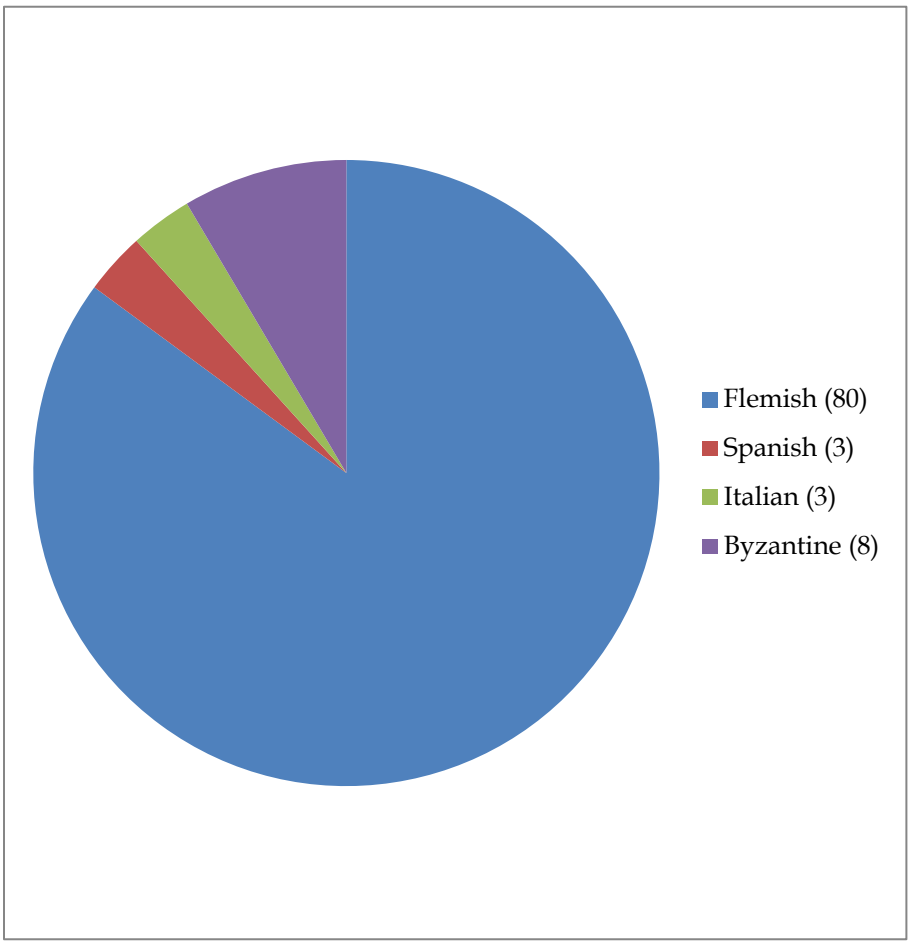


Appendix D: Geographic Origins of the Paintings in Isabel's Collection

Distribution of Identifiable Objects in the Overall Collection



Geographic Distribution of the works of Identifiable Origin



Appendix E: The Inventory of the *Retablo de Isabel*

Inventory Number	Subject	Value (in mrs.)	Purchaser
1	Flight into Egypt	1,500	Margaret of Austria
2	Dispute in the Temple	1,875	Margaret of Austria
3	Presentation in the Temple	1,875	Margaret of Austria
4	Baptism of Christ	1,500	Margaret of Austria
5	Epiphany	1,875	Francisca Enríquez de Luna
6	Temptation of Christ	1,500	Margaret of Austria
7	Calming of the Storm	1,125	Margaret of Austria
8	Resurrection of Lazarus	1,500	Margaret of Austria
9	Entry into Jerusalem	1,875	Margaret of Austria
10	Christ before Pilate	1,500	Margaret of Austria
11	Crucifixion	937.5	Francisca Enríquez de Luna
12	Deposition	1,875	Francisca Enríquez de Luna
13	Christ with Mary Magdalene	1,687.5	Margaret of Austria
14	Transfiguration	1,500	Margaret of Austria
15	Last Supper	2,250	Margaret of Austria
16	Arrest in the Garden	1,687.5	Margaret of Austria
17	Crown of Thorns	1,500	Margaret of Austria
18	Christ Carrying the Cross	1,500	Francisca Enríquez de Luna
19	The Samaritan Woman	1,312.5	Diego Fernández de Córdoba
20	The Cananite Woman	1,500	Margaret of Austria
21	Sermon on the Mount	1,500	Margaret of Austria
22	Si ergo me quaeritis	1,125	Margaret of Austria
23	Torture of Christ	1,312.5	Margaret of Austria
24	Ecce Homo	1,500	Francisca Enríquez de Luna
25	Marriage Feast at Cana	1,500	Margaret of Austria
26	Pieta	2,250	Francisca Enríquez de

			Luna
27	Visitation	1,875	Margaret of Austria
28	Miracle of Loaves and Fishes	1,875	Margaret of Austria
29	Three Women at the Tomb	1,500	Margaret of Austria
30	Nailing of the Cross	2,250	Francisca Enríquez de Luna
31	Christ at the Column	1,875	Francisca Enríquez de Luna
32	Nativity	1,500	Margaret of Austria
33	Doubting of Thomas	1,875	
34	Annunciation	1,312.5	Francisca Enríquez de Luna
35	St. Michael and St. Gabriel	1,125	Margaret of Austria
36	St. John, Santiago, St. Peter, and St. Paul	1,500	Margaret of Austria
37	Harrowing of Hell	1,500	Margaret of Austria
38	Christ Appears to Mary with the Saved	1,875	
39	El Noli Me Tangere	1,500	Margaret of Austria
40	Ascension	2,250	Margaret of Austria
41	Pentecost	1,875	Margaret of Austria
42	Last Judgment	1,875	
43	Christ Appears to Mary Alone	1,125	Francisca Enríquez de Luna
44	Christ Appears to St. Peter	1,125	Margaret of Austria
45	Supper of Emaus	1,687.5	Margaret of Austria
46	Assumption of the Virgin	1,875	Margaret of Austria
47	Coronation of the Virgin	2,250	
	Total Value	76,687.5	

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